

# TIME

## Bernie.

Socialize *this*, America

By Sam Frizell

**Plus**

The Pope's  
mission 40

Why ambition  
isn't working  
for women 52



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## Cover Story

### The Gospel of Bernie

On the campaign trail with the man who brought fire back to the Democratic Party **By Sam Frizell 32**



*Is Sanders just preaching to the choir? If so, it's a pretty big choir*

### Francis in America

The most influential Pope in a generation brings his activist agenda to the U.S.

**By Elizabeth Dias 40**

### Debating the Right to Die

More doctors now believe people with terminal illness should decide their final moments, and California is poised to agree

**By Josh Sanburn 48**

### Ambition and the Working Woman

A new poll by TIME and *Real Simple* asks how women and men define success and ambition. Hint: not the same

**By Kristin van Ogtrop 52**

#### On the cover:

Bernie Sanders, photographed on Sept. 15 by Stephen Voss for TIME

From the Editor **6**  
Verbatim **8**

### The Brief

Europe, land of immigrants? **11**

Australia's game of thrones **13**

A sharp left turn by Britain's Labour Party **14**

*Homo naledi*, welcome to the family **16**

J.J. Watt, the NFL's best player **18**

The pitfalls of long-term car loans **20**

West Coast inferno **22**

### The View

Why colleges need helicopter parents **25**

How refrigerators changed the world **26**

Cleaning the air in Rotterdam **27**

When leadership and niceness don't mix **27**

Why a year in space is no walk in the park **30**

### Time Off

Richard Lacayo on "Picasso Sculpture" at MOMA **59**

Movie star vs. mountain in Everest **61**



Johnny Depp plays Whitey Bulger in *Black Mass* **62**

Quick Talk with singer-songwriter Jewel **63**

New novels by Elena Ferrante and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar **64**

Joel Stein on the presidential candidates' merch **67**

11 Questions with Ethiopian activist Aberash Bekele **68**

*Depp as Bulger, page 62*

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# Assessing the Pope at high altitude

IT IS AN ODD FACT OF HISTORY THAT THE WORLD'S youngest empire, the U.S., established diplomatic relations with the oldest, the Holy See, only a little over 30 years ago under Ronald Reagan. Back then, many considered it inappropriate for the champion of church-state separation to engage directly with the world's most far-reaching theocracy. Jerry Falwell demanded to know when Mecca would have its own ambassador. But the collaboration between the U.S. and Pope John Paul II helped fuel anti-communist dissent among the devout Catholics of communist-ruled central Europe, especially in the Pope's home country of Poland, paving the way for the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union.

Three decades later, Pope Francis presents a new version of the globe-straddling leader of the world's 1 billion Catholics. His popularity rivals that of John Paul II, and already he has collaborated with the U.S. on thawing relations with Cuba, which he will visit Sept. 19. But Francis has also been a scold of capitalism, decrying unchecked greed and industrial resource extraction, and on Sept. 22 he will deliver that mixed message in person during a five-day trip to the U.S., his first ever to the country.

Traveling with him on the plane that reporters have dubbed Shepherd One is TIME's religion correspondent Elizabeth Dias, author of this week's story on the Pope and co-author of our 2013 Person of the Year profile of the Pontiff. Tracing the Pope's worldview to his roots as a pastor under right-wing military rule in Cold War Argentina, she explains how Francis is shaking up the Vatican and leveraging his global popularity to tackle the world's thorniest problems—all while maintaining his trademark humility, which on this trip means carrying his own briefcase.



Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR



**NOW PLAYING** In a video report from the front lines of Europe's ongoing migrant crisis, TIME's Simon Shuster zeroes in on those refugees—like the young man pictured above—who have been detained after crossing the border between Serbia and Hungary, where officials recently erected a razor-wire fence. Hungary is seen as the gateway to the European Union, and about 180,000 people, many bound for Germany, have crossed its borders in 2015. Watch the video at [time.com/hungary-video](http://time.com/hungary-video).

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**TIME LABS** Following the Sept. 2 decision by the U.S. Army to open its Ranger School to women, TIME Labs explores the growing number of American military jobs that could open to women by 2016, three years after the Pentagon lifted its ban on women in combat. Even now, the change remains controversial: a Sept. 10 study by the Marine Corps showed that all-male teams outdid mixed squads on 69% of tasks. Read more at [labs.time.com](http://labs.time.com).

## ARMY

**Before combat-rule repeal** 224,600 closed / 817,400 open

**22% closed**

**Present** 176,600 closed / 865,400 open

**17% closed**

**Jan. 1, 2016** 0 closed / 1,042,000 open

**0% closed**

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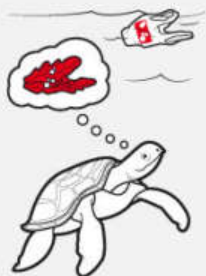
# 'This is the future from now on.'

**JERRY BROWN**, California governor, addressing the role of climate change in the state's ongoing wildfires; hundreds of homes were destroyed, and one woman was found dead Sept. 13



## 52%

Percentage of sea turtles worldwide that have eaten debris, according to a new study



## 33 million

Number of Americans without health insurance in 2014, down 21% from the previous year

# 'SHE PLAYED LITERALLY OUT OF HER MIND.'

**SERENA WILLIAMS**, tennis star, after losing the semi-final at the U.S. Open to unseeded Italian player Roberta Vinci; the loss ended Williams' bid for a calendar-year Grand Slam



**Red wine**  
The resveratrol in red wine may prevent Alzheimer's from progressing



**GOOD WEEK**  
**BAD WEEK**



**Diet soda**  
Those who drink diet soda often compensate by eating unhealthy food

# 'Politics can change, and we have changed it.'

**JEREMY CORBYN**, far-left British lawmaker, upon being elected leader of the U.K.'s opposition Labour Party on Sept. 12; he opposes the government's austerity measures



# 'He doesn't deserve to ever have a badge and a gun again.'

**JAMES BLAKE**, retired tennis player, on the NYPD officer who tackled him in front of a Manhattan hotel after mistaking him for a credit-card-fraud suspect; the NYPD subsequently apologized and put the officer on desk duty.



## \$278,000

Value of a diamond that was removed from a woman's large intestine during a colonoscopy, after she was accused of stealing the six-carat stone from a jewelry fair



# 'OUR ABILITIES HAVE REACHED THEIR LIMITS.'

**SIGMAR GABRIEL**, Germany's Vice Chancellor, as the country tightened its border security in an emergency measure responding to the continued flood of migrants trying to reach Western Europe

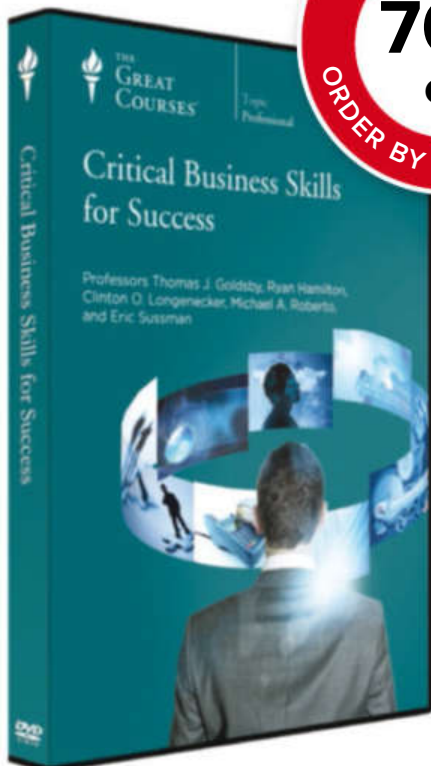


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| 29 Common Size, Trend, and Ratio Analysis       | 36 How to Value a Company's Stock        |
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| 40 The Art of Effective Communications     | 46 Ethics and the Bathsheba Syndrome    |
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| 42 Winning with Teamwork                   | 48 Lifelong Learning for Career Success |

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| 51 Targeting a Market Segment          | 58 Marketing Communications That Work       |
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# The Brief

'THE EARLY PREHUMANS WERE BARELY 5 FT. TALL AND HAD BRAINS THE SIZE OF AN ORANGE.' —PAGE 16



*A migrant group walks along railroad tracks near the now closed Hungary-Serbia border*

## REFUGEES

### The migrant crisis is a major test for European identity—and unity

By Karl Vick

WAR SENDS PEOPLE FLEEING IN mortal terror, and when their flight takes them across the border of their country, what aid organizations offer, along with water and shelter, is a certain hopeful logic. Both the logic and the hope are revealed by the location of the shelter, clustered as near as safely possible to the country the refugees have just fled. Partly, the idea is to spare them a long journey home when the fighting finally ends. But the policy is also meant to spare the host country the burdens of absorbing thousands upon thousands of desperate, poor and unexpected newcomers.

Which only hints at the dilemmas facing Europe as the last, dim pools of hope drain from Syria, along with much of its population. None of the 28 nations that make up the European

Union bears the obligations of hospitality that comes with proximity. Those have been borne for four years now by neighboring Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. Yet in a gush of feeling, Europe, or at least its largest nation, essentially laid out the welcome mat earlier this month to the war's 4 million refugees, as well as the millions still trapped inside Syria.

For those with the resources to reach Berlin, it's a godsend. And for the E.U., it's an existential crisis, the second this year.

Europe has no Statue of Liberty. It is chiefly a continent not of immigrants, where all citizens can trace their ancestry to somewhere abroad, but of discrete peoples. Redirecting those peoples' troublesome pride, and the wars it long spawned, was the

reason behind the E.U., first conceived decades ago to provide a unifying identity that erased borders and shared the wealth. The wealth part was tested over the summer by the economic collapse of Greece, a poorer member that sought succor from the richer nations of Europe's north, with precarious results. Now a human torrent of Syrian and other migrants is testing the limits of identity and open borders.

The test is being conducted by Germany, the E.U.'s most powerful nation and the one that set off the migration tidal wave Aug. 24 by opening its doors to asylum seekers. The resulting surge set in motion deeply affecting events that by Sept. 12 brought 13,000 people to the Munich train station alone, overwhelming a nation that values order. Two days later, E.U. members rejected a proposal to compel each nation to accept a "fair share" of the migrants. The E.U. operates by consensus, and not all members are as accommodating as Germany, or as in need of cheap, young labor.

The most prominent dissenter is Hungary, which on Sept. 14 sealed a gap in its border with Serbia, a non-E.U. state that has been the corridor for migrants arriving from Greece. In protest, some Syrians caught in no-man's-land began refusing food and water, evidence enough that in Europe—even as the bodies of 38 more drowned migrants were being collected from the waters between Turkey and Greece—the focus has shifted

from the humanitarian realm to the political.

As it must. Once ensconced in Europe, the Syrians will absorb aid, housing and jobs—all the things they absorbed in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon when they wandered away from the U.N. camps. Hungary and others complain that the human stream reaching Europe includes not just political refugees but economic migrants from poor nations that are not at war. It's a good bet. Global polls show that 700 million people would like to leave their country, and the door to Europe does not open every day. But Syrians are themselves educated and entrepreneurial, building a shopping arcade in Jordan's Za'atari refugee camp with a speed that dazzled U.N. officials.

It's been a heady, even unreal few weeks. Germany's expectation that it will take in up to 1 million migrants calls into question a basic assumption about Europe. Is its nativist culture, which in the past has resisted integrating immigrants (especially Muslims) somehow softening? Or are its leaders getting dangerously ahead of things, in what amounts to a summer romance?

"Dream of Europe," the French statesman Valéry Giscard d'Estaing implored 13 years ago, making the case for an E.U. constitution. "Let us imagine a continent at peace, freed of its barriers and obstacles, where history and geography are finally reconciled." That vote fell short. But the dream lives on. And not just for people born there. □



## Great 20th century migrations

With an estimated 1 in every 122 people on earth now displaced according to the U.N., there are currently more people fleeing violence or persecution than at any other time since World War II. Here's how the world dealt with previous mass movements of people. —Naina Bajekal

### INTERWAR YEARS

The 1917 Russian revolution and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire created over 5 million refugees from 1919 to 1939, mainly Russians, Armenians, Turks and Assyrians. The League of Nations provided so-called Nansen passports (see photo above), travel documents, to some 450,000 stateless people.

### WORLD WAR II

More than 11 million people were brought to Germany by the Nazis to work as slave laborers, and many remained in squalid refugee camps for years after the war ended. The U.N. created a refugee agency in 1950 to deal with the millions of displaced Europeans, establishing the asylum system that continues to this day.

### VIETNAM WAR

Three million people fled Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in the two decades following 1975 communist victories in the region. Photographs of Southeast Asian states turning away boatloads of refugees prompted global agreements in 1979 and 1989 to resettle 2.5 million people, over half in the U.S.

### KOSOVO WAR

Nine in 10 Kosovars left the Balkan territory in 1998–99, with tens of thousands escaping into Macedonia and Montenegro. The E.U. struggled to agree on how to share the burden, with Germany taking the lion's share of asylum applications and the U.K. facing particular criticism from the U.N. for accepting so few.



## TRENDING



### RACE

A commission formed by Missouri Governor Jay Nixon last year in the wake of unrest in Ferguson following the death of Michael Brown issued a report on Sept. 14 urging **policy changes on policing, courts and the social safety net** to tackle institutional racism in the St. Louis area.



### ACCIDENTS

Members of Egypt's military and police force **killed 12 Mexican tourists and their Egyptian guides** in the country's Western Desert on Sept. 14 after mistaking the group for Islamist militants. Egypt said the tourists were in a restricted area of the country.



### LEXICOGRAPHY

A British historian claimed to have uncovered the **oldest written use of the F word**, dating back to 1310. Paul Booth of Keele University unearthed a medieval English court document that refers to a defendant by the nickname "Roger F-ckebythenavele."



## SPOTLIGHT Australia's game of thrones

In a leadership ballot on Sept. 14, Malcolm Turnbull toppled Tony Abbott to become leader of the conservative Liberal Party and the country's fourth Prime Minister in two years, cementing Canberra's reputation as the coup capital of the democratic world. Abbott blamed his premature exit on excessive media scrutiny and the country's short, three-year election cycles, but no one seems to hold the top job for long. —Naina Bajekal



**KEVIN RUDD** won a landslide election in 2007 as leader of the center-left Labor Party, but his ratings collapsed three years later after the unpopular proposal of a tax on mining profits and the deferral of a carbon-trading scheme. He was ousted by Julia Gillard in June 2010.



**JULIA GILLARD**, Rudd's deputy, asked him to either resign or hold a leadership election. Rudd chose to resign hours before a scheduled vote took place. But the country's first female Prime Minister struggled to gain legitimacy and clung to power after August 2010 elections only by forming a minority government. By June 2013, Rudd beat her in a Labor Party leadership ballot to head the government once again.



**TONY ABBOTT**'s resurgent Liberal Party dispatched Rudd in the September 2013 elections, with Abbott promising to end the political instability that Australia had endured under Labor. But his harsh austerity measures proved unpopular, and Australia's debt spiraled as the economy slowed to a crawl in 2015. His opposition to same-sex marriage and climate-change skepticism likely hastened his unseating.



**MALCOLM TURNBULL**, a former lawyer and journalist, had previously been outspoken about his support for more socially progressive policies. But after taking office on Sept. 15, he said people should not expect immediate changes on issues like gay rights and the environment and instead pledged to focus on the economy. Rival Labor MPs have criticized the Liberal leader for selling out his principles to win the post.

## DATA

### VANISHING WOODLAND

The U.N. says forest land equal to the size of South Africa has disappeared since 1990. Here's the area, in square miles, lost yearly in the most rapidly deforested countries since 2010:



**Brazil**  
3,799



**Indonesia**  
2,641



**Burma**  
2,108



**Nigeria**  
1,583



**Tanzania**  
1,436



**FLASH POINT** A Palestinian protester kicks a burning tire during clashes between Palestinians and Israeli police officers in Jerusalem's Old City on Sept. 15. The U.S. State Department voiced concerns about a surge in violence at the compound surrounding the city's contested holy site, known to Muslims as Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) and to Jews as the Temple Mount. Riots erupted over three consecutive days after police tried to secure the site for Jewish visitors on the eve of the Rosh Hashanah holiday on Sept. 14. Photograph by Ammar Awad—Reuters



## TRENDING



## MEDICINE

A new study supports the **use of aspirin by healthy people in their 50s at higher-than-average risk of developing heart problems, stroke and colon cancer**, reaffirming its reputation as a protective wonder drug.

But not everyone is convinced that aspirin is effective or so benign.

Last year the FDA advised against healthy people's taking the drug to prevent a first heart attack or stroke because it can cause bleeding in the digestive tract and brain. So if you're popping aspirin to keep healthy, it's time to ask your doctor if it's really right for you.



## ARMS

North Korea announced that it upgraded and restarted its main nuclear complex at Yongbyon in an effort to **improve its atomic-weapons arsenal**. The statement claimed North Korea already had the ability to launch nuclear weapons against the U.S.

## THE RISK REPORT

## Labour's new leader shakes U.K. politics

By Ian Bremmer

IN SOME WAYS, JEREMY CORBYN'S ELECTION on Sept. 12 as the new leader of Britain's Labour Party is a sign of just how badly it was beaten in elections four months ago. Corbyn is an outspoken renegade, and he promises to take the party in an entirely new direction. While many critics say Labour won't be able to win a national election with Corbyn—he's far to the left of the party's mainstream—his supporters counter that more “moderate” candidates can't win because they stand for nothing. If you're going down, they say, go down fighting for something worth fighting for.

Support for fist shaking is surging across Europe, as voters abandon mainstream parties to heed authentically angry voices. On the left, the Syriza Party has led Greece into combat with Germany and E.U. institutions. On the right, France's National Front leads in polls. In the U.S., many Democrats have turned to socialist Bernie Sanders. The two leaders in the GOP race—Donald Trump and Ben Carson—have never held office.

Those who voted for Corbyn will now expect a sharp break with the party's centrist recent past. Will his supporters forgive him if he tones down his opposition to Britain's close U.S. ties or its



nuclear deterrent? Or will Corbyn hold fast to his principles, no matter how disgruntled Labour MPs become? Which of those he's defied over the years will be first to revolt?

In the end it matters little, because there will never be a Prime Minister Corbyn. In the U.K., as in the U.S., populism bolsters party support but rarely wins national elections. It's a potent political weapon where economies are in trouble. But Britain isn't Greece, the only place in Europe where the far left has come to power. Prime Minister David Cameron can expect smooth sailing—if he can keep control of his Conservative Party.

But that might get a bit harder if Corbyn's victory means a surge in Euroskepticism on the left. Cameron expects, rightly, that a third of his party will support exit next year when Britain holds its referendum on continued membership in the E.U. He has always assumed he could count on Labour votes to ensure that Britain remains in Europe.

Corbyn, one of Britain's last remaining left-wing Euroskeptics, could call that assumption into question. He argues that

the E.U. is driven mainly by corporate interests, with bureaucrats who care little for ordinary citizens. If Corbyn campaigns against E.U. membership and a larger-than-expected set of Labour MPs follow him, Cameron might have to campaign harder for the pro-E.U. line and twist arms within his party.

Britain's Prime Minister has so far avoided the populist backlash generating upheaval in Britain and elsewhere. He'll need to be nimble to keep it that way. □

## BY THE NUMBERS

## College buyouts

Ex-University of Texas athletic director Steve Patterson, who resigned Sept. 15 amid furor over too-high ticket prices, could reportedly get a \$5.6 million settlement, since his contract runs through 2019. It wouldn't be the first taxpayer-funded college payout to raise concerns.

—Olivia B. Waxman

**\$1.2**  
MILLION

Amount Rutgers University agreed to pay athletic director Tim Perneti in salary and benefits; Perneti resigned in 2013 after basketball coach Mike Rice was fired for verbally abusing players

**\$5.8**  
MILLION

Amount Ohio State agreed to pay president E. Gordon Gee, who retired in 2013 after making derogatory comments; because he took a new job at WVU, Ohio State had to pay him only \$337,080

**\$2.4**  
MILLION

Amount (severance plus deferred compensation) Penn State paid president Graham Spanier, who was fired in 2011 amid the school's child sex-abuse scandal



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## Milestones

## DIED

> Basketball player **Moses Malone**, 60, known for playing with the Philadelphia 76ers. He was the first modern player to be drafted straight from high school, paving the way for LeBron James, Kobe Bryant and more.

> Subway co-founder **Fred DeLuca**, 67. He opened the franchise's first sandwich shop at the age of 17 to fund his college tuition; the chain now has 27,000 U.S. locations.

## KILLED

Delta State University history professor **Ethan Schmidt**, 39, shot to death in his office. Police believe his colleague Shannon Lamb shot Schmidt, then later likely turned the gun on himself.



The bones of *Homo naledi* were found in South Africa

## UNCOVERED

## *Homo naledi* A protohuman

YOU'D HAVE TO SHIMMY THROUGH a narrow crack in a wall in South Africa's Rising Star cave system to meet the latest addition to the human family. Two years ago, a team led by paleoanthropologist Lee Berger did just that, and on Sept. 10 he announced the results.

What Berger found were more than 1,500 bones representing 15 members of the newly named species *Homo naledi* (from a local word for star). The early prehumans were

barely 5 ft. (1.5 m) tall and had brains the size of an orange. Some features, like the hands and feet, place *H. naledi* closer to humans; others, like the small brain, make them ape-like. The cave may have been a burial chamber, which would show a very human respect for the dead.

The rub is that tests have not yet determined *H. naledi*'s age, with estimates putting it from 2.5 million to 3 million years. A better answer is forthcoming. Until then, think of *H. naledi* as relatives; whether they're close enough to invite to Thanksgiving is yet to be known.

—JEFFREY KLUGER

## CHECKUP Fast-food farms

Farms often give animals antibiotics to prevent disease and help them grow faster, but scientists worry overuse could make bacteria more resistant to antibiotics, especially for humans who eat the meat. A new report, backed in part by Consumers Union, grades how well major U.S. fast-food chains police this practice. A sampling:

A

(bans routine use of antibiotics)

**PANERA  
CHIPOTLE**

B

(will ban routine use in near future)

**CHICK-FIL-A**

C

(bans routine use in some cases)

**DUNKIN' DONUTS  
MCDONALD'S**

F

(zero or undisclosed bans)

**STARBUCKS  
BURGER KING  
WENDY'S  
TACO BELL  
PIZZA HUT  
KFC  
DOMINO'S  
SONIC  
LITTLE CAESARS  
DAIRY QUEEN**

—Alexandra Sifferlin

## EXPLAINER

## Global warming's comeback

It may not have always felt like it, but global warming slowed in the decade before 2010. Temperatures rose just 0.09°F, down from 0.2°F average growth in each of the six previous decades. Now a new study by the U.K.'s Met Office says the "hiatus" has ended and predicts the next two years will be the hottest on record. —Justin Worland

## 1. A PAUSE IN WARMING

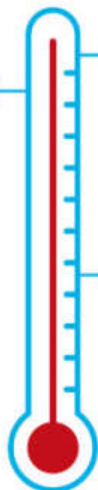
Researchers say a number of factors may have contributed to the hiatus. For one, volcanic eruptions released gases blocking the sun's rays from heating up the earth's surface. Shifting climate patterns in the world's oceans have also strengthened trade winds, leading the earth's oceans to absorb heat.

## 2. THE HEAT IS ON AGAIN

The Met Office says El Niño's climate pattern, which will continue this year and next, will increase Pacific Ocean temperatures, while humans continue to emit greenhouse gases that contribute to global warming.

## 3. TEPID RESPONSE

Negotiators from 195 countries around the world are meeting in Paris this fall to craft an agreement to prevent a global temperature increase from exceeding 3.6°F by 2100. An agreement is likely, but scientists warn that the goal may already be out of reach.





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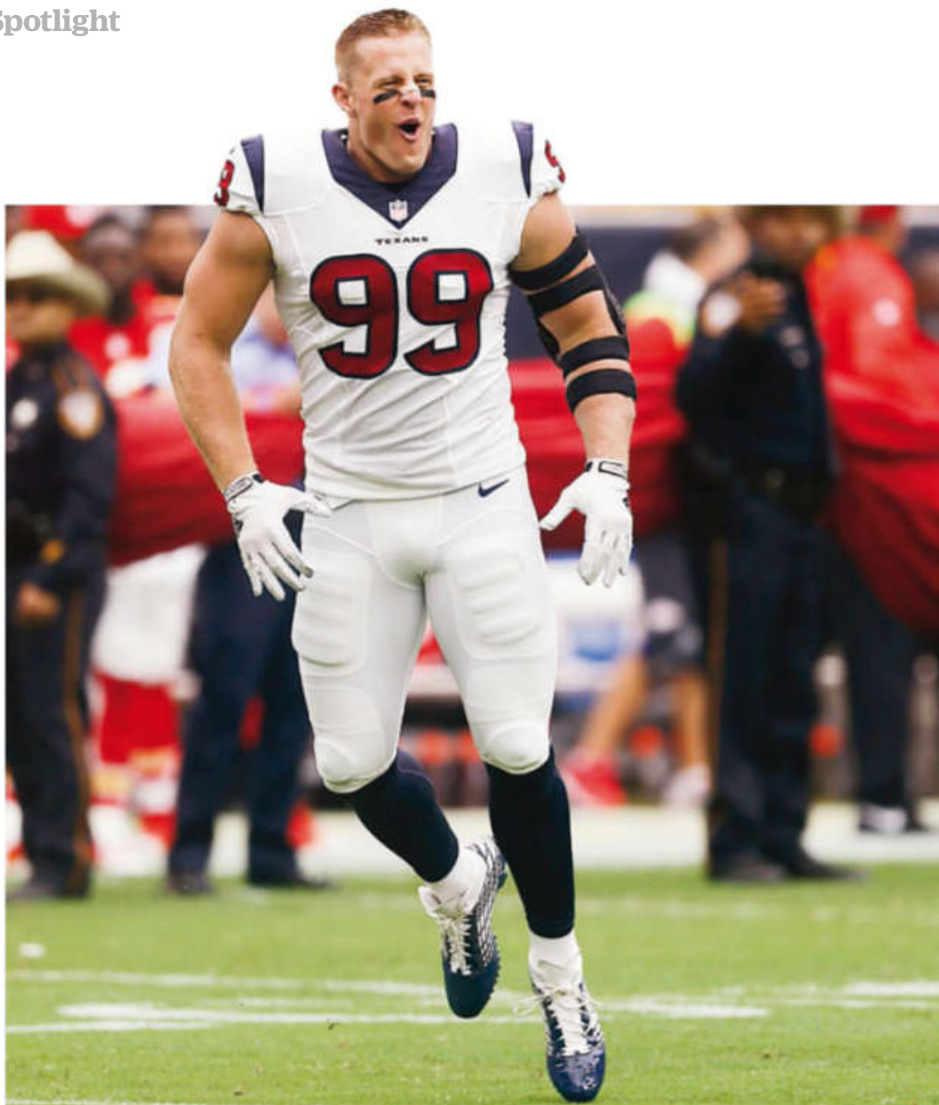
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Run Simple





## J.J. Watt, defensive end, Houston Texans

The NFL's best player—by advanced statistics—doesn't catch, throw or carry the ball. But the 6-ft. 5-in., 290-lb. Watt has excelled on the defensive line beyond not only the expectations of scouts and coaches but also the traditional limits of his position. As the 2015 season (Watt's fifth) kicks into gear, both the beleaguered NFL and the antsy Houston fan base consider what new heights may await football's most fearsome golden boy.

**WHY HE'S THE BEST** Analysis website Pro Football Focus has named Watt the league's top player, on offense or defense, three years running. Although it's tough to compare statistics across positions, Watt has achieved more success relative to his peers, the site says, than any other player. Since his rookie

^  
Watt has been named to three straight All-Pro first teams

59

Sacks by Watt since his debut in 2011

65

Times Watt says he flipped a 1,000-lb. (454 kg) tire in a 2015 workout

37

Passes deflected by Watt since 2011

51.8

Millions of dollars guaranteed to Watt in his 2014 contract

year, Watt leads all linemen in sacks, pass deflections and tackles for a loss.

**BEFORE THE NFL** Watt grew up in Pewaukee, Wis., and made first-team all-state his senior season in high school. Yet the major scouting services graded him only a two-star recruit (out of five), and the state university's Badgers didn't offer him a scholarship. Watt landed instead at Central Michigan but dropped out after a year, determined to play for Wisconsin. He walked on to the team, with his parents paying his tuition. By his junior season he was the team's MVP, and in April 2011 he was the 11th overall pick in the draft.

**A COMMANDING STYLE** Watt's coaches have entrusted him with the unusual authority to line up all over the defensive line, earning him comparisons to all-time greats Lawrence Taylor and Reggie White. He also caught three touchdowns for Houston on offense last year.

**SPONSORSHIPS** Watt does commercials for Gatorade, Reebok and Verizon, among others, meaning he'll be unavoidable on Sundays even during other teams' games.

**WHAT'S NEXT** After division wins in 2011 and 2012, the Texans have missed the playoffs each of the past two years. Houston lost to Kansas City in Week 1, 27-20; Watt had two sacks. The Texans' quarterbacks may struggle, but third-year receiver DeAndre Hopkins and Watt's defense (including 2014 No. 1 pick Jadeveon Clowney and veteran Vince Wilfork) should give the rest of the league headaches.

—JACK DICKEY



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## YOUR MONEY

# The 8-year auto loan is here. But is it in your best interest?

By Bill Saporito

IN FIVE YEARS OR SO, A LOT OF PEOPLE may find themselves driving upside down. That's not a special gear on a Tesla. It's the negative equity that will result from more and more car buyers' financing their purchases over longer and longer terms—up to eight years in an increasing number of cases. These drivers will owe more on their cars than the vehicles are worth. “Even despite low interest rates, to keep the monthly payment low, we see an extension of the term,” says Melinda Zabritski, senior director of automotive finance for Experian Automotive, a credit agency.

According to Experian, in the second quarter of the year nearly 29% of new-car loans were financed for terms of 73 to 84 months, an increase of 20% over the same period last year. The portion of used cars financed for these six- to seven-year terms increased by 14.8% in the past year, to 16.1%, the highest ever. Lease financing showed similar characteristics as drivers stretched three-year leases: the number of 37- to 48-month leases increased 18%.

What's driving this behavior? “It's really a response to people wanting more car,” says Jack Nerad, market analyst at Kelley Blue Book. The average transaction price for a new car hit \$33,453 in July, according to KBB, up 2.6% over last year. Loan values have to follow. Experian says buyers borrowed

an average of \$28,524 for a new vehicle and \$18,671 for a used one. Since wages are essentially flat, extending the term is the only route to make the monthly nut affordable. And ultimately more expensive: borrow \$29,000 for eight years rather than four at the national average rate of 4.81% and you'll pay about \$3,000 more in interest.

Zabritski says the rising popularity of crossover utility vehicles—CUVs—such as the Ford Escape, Chevy Equinox, Toyota RAV4 and Honda CR-V has helped change the lending landscape. These aren't necessarily luxury vehicles, but they are more expensive than sedans. So the finance industry figured out how to get buyers into them. One way, says Zabritski, is to take a 72-month loan and add three months, a product known in the industry as the 72+3.

The problem with a 72+3, or a straightforward seven- or eight-year loan, is depreciation. The moment you drive off the lot, your new car's value begins to sink. Your monthly payment does not. And if you love that new-car smell every four or five years, a seven-year loan could start to stink. “If you are taking on a long, long term, the likelihood of being upside down on that loan is pretty significant. A lot of people shrug that off,” says Nerad. Consumers with negative equity who want shiny new metal end up rolling the outstand-

ing balance into the next loan. “It's almost getting overheated in the way the housing market was,” says Nerad.

Should you consider a longer-term car loan? There's a critical question to ask, says Nerad: “Where are you going to be in five years? You should finance it for the time you are going to own it.” Cars are better built and last longer—the average age is now a record 11.5 years, according to the research firm IHS—so if you're planning on giving the kids a junker in eight years, the longer term is a reasonable strategy.

But if your new-car horizon is shorter and sticker shock is an issue, then a lease may be the better option. Nearly 1 in 3 new-car transactions is now a lease, says Experian. Again, it's all about the monthly payment, and again, even lease terms are being extended to four years from three. There's a catch in that too: you may have to pay up to extend the warranty.

On the other hand, all those new leases are also creating opportunities. There will be a surge in the supply of cars coming off lease over the next couple of years. “You can get some fantastic pricing on late-model used cars,” says Zabritski. If you finance that with a four- or five-year loan, adds Nerad, you'll end up with a “free” car with lots of useful years left. And it's always easier to drive right side up. □

## BORROWING TIME

The new math of longer-term car loans

### TALE OF TWO LOANS

Longer-term financing lowers your monthly payment, but the extra interest raises the total cost of any car you buy. For this example, we used a car loan of \$29,000 and a 4.81% interest rate (both roughly in line with national averages).

### 5-YEAR-LOAN MONTHLY PAYMENT

**\$544.74**

Paying off the car after 60 months requires a **heftier monthly check**—but by the end, the total paid in interest is only \$3,676.75.

### 8-YEAR-LOAN MONTHLY PAYMENT

**\$364.52**

The longer loan duration **slims down the monthly payment** by nearly \$200. But after eight years, the total interest amounts to \$5,980.71.

### DRIVING UNDERWATER

**\$12,194**

That's how much **would still be owed** on the eight-year loan after five years—but the car will have depreciated to \$10,900, a gap of \$1,294.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME



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**LightBox**

## The front line

Firefighters in Lower Lake, Calif., struggle to contain the Valley Fire on Sept. 13. The blaze had consumed 67,000 acres in the state and destroyed at least 585 homes and hundreds of other buildings by Sept. 16, causing at least one fatality and thousands of residents to evacuate the area.

*Photograph by Noah Berger—Reuters*

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HUNGER ACTION MONTH





# The View

'SOMETIMES, THE BEST BOSSES HAVE TO LIE AND MANIPULATE TO SAVE MONEY AND JOBS.' —PAGE 27



*After years of keeping students' parents at bay, university leaders are now seeking ways to involve them*

## EDUCATION

### Why colleges need helicopter parents

By Sean Gregory

WE'VE ALL HEARD THE DANGERS OF helicopter parenting. Remaining too involved in a kid's life, especially throughout college, can lead to depression, lack of self-reliance and feelings of entitlement.

Superficially, this wisdom is sound. But some academics and educators now say they see signs of a troubling backlash. The concern: that the glut of pithy warnings and horror stories—the cover of Julie Lythcott-Haims' best seller *How to Raise an Adult* instructs moms and dads to avoid “the over-parenting trap”—is discouraging parents from getting involved at all.

“Yes, parents can be intrusive,” says Marjorie Savage, a researcher in the University of Minnesota's department of family social science who studies college parenting. “At the same

time, there are increasing examples of parents refusing to step up when students genuinely need their family.” At Hofstra University, for example, parents now ask sheepishly about mental-health and campus-safety resources, as if broaching those topics were verboten, says Branka Kristic, who heads the family-outreach programs. And Savage recalls talking to a mom who kept quiet about her son's signs of depression until right before he failed a semester. She did not want to “helicopter in.”

That means colleges, which have spent the past decade learning to cope with parents who get too involved, now have a different problem. But the solution to both is the same: devising ways to channel moms and dads into the right kind of supportive

role. Roughly 160 schools, from Virginia Tech to Vanderbilt to Arizona State, now belong to the Association of Higher Education Parent/Family Program Professionals (AHEPPP), a trade group formed in 2008 to serve “as the ever-important link between colleges, universities and their parents.” And in recent years, hundreds of colleges have either launched or beefed up their parent offices, which serve as one-stop shops for moms and dads looking to air grievances, report problems and generally stay in touch.

Much of this began, of course, because schools were forced to cope with a generation of students connected with their parents like never before. On average, they communicate 22.1 times per week, according to research from Barbara Hofer, a psychology professor at Middlebury College. That’s more than twice the rate of a decade ago, before almost every student had a smartphone. And with costs soaring—most notably at private colleges, where annual tuition now averages around \$31,000 in the U.S.—university leaders have started to view parents as investment partners. “They’re stakeholders,” says Stuart Rabinowitz, president of Hofstra University, which also belongs to the AHEPPP. “Most of them have paid for this education for their children or gone into debt for this education. And in some sense, they’re entitled to know and be assured that we’re looking out for their children’s welfare.”

Crucially, outreach programs have also served as buffers, sparing students—or worse, their professors—the brunt of the nagging. At the University of Maryland, for example, the parent office has fielded demands for weekly academic-progress reports, which do not exist in higher education. “Sometimes, parents just want to know they have a place to go where someone will listen to their concerns,” says Brian Watkins, the office director.

But now, with some moms and dads wary of even contacting the school in the first place, those same programs are being used to encourage a more balanced approach, often via blogs, email and Facebook. Hofstra’s Kristic, like many of her contemporaries, advises parents to “be a guide, while acknowledging that the student owns the journey.” That means asking questions, listening to answers, being patient and trusting kids to resolve their own problems. But if issues persist, or if a student is in serious mental or physical danger, it also means hopping in the chopper, at least for a little while.

“When you think about it, helicopters are useful tools,” says Chelsea Petree, who is launching a parent-outreach program at Rochester Institute of Technology. “They can see things we on the ground can’t see and get to emergencies quicker than we can. They can swoop in when needed.

“The key is that they go back up.”



#### VERBATIM

**‘We’re somehow imagining that our problems can be solved by eating this or doing that ... It’s a big cultural picture that is causing us to be unhappy and struggle with food.’**

**ALICE WATERS,** award-winning chef, on the fallacy of trendy diet practices like avoiding gluten



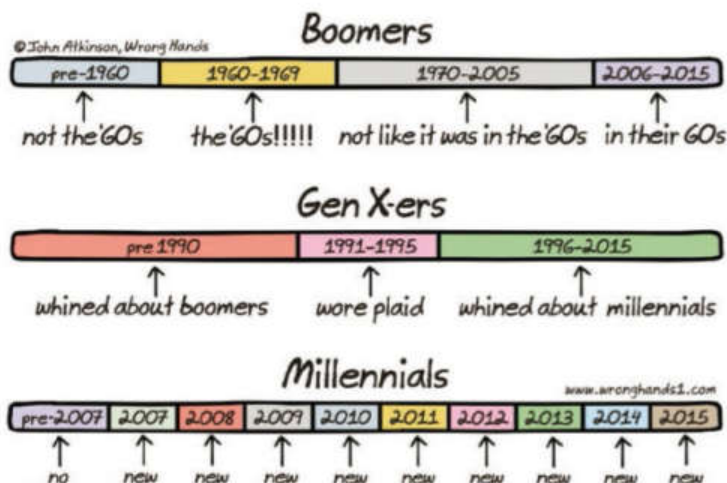
#### THE NUTSHELL Chilled

FORGET TAKING down the Internet or launching a military strike. If malign forces really want to “bring civilization to its knees,” argues Tom Jackson, “all they need to do is turn off all the fridges.” To understand why electric cool is so important—which is the premise of Jackson’s new book—it helps to remember a world without it, when people relied on ice cut from ponds and rivers to preserve their food and chill their drinks. This method, while popular, was also risky (stream ice often contained pollutants, which led to outbreaks of typhoid fever and more) and restrictive (it was tough to ship ice to warmer regions). But refrigeration tech didn’t only enable safer, healthier diets, Jackson reveals. It was also instrumental in developing cloud storage (servers would overheat without air-conditioning), MRI scanners (their mechanics rely on cold magnets) and even the world’s most popular drug, the statin Lipitor (made using supercold liquid nitrogen). —SARAH BEGLEY



#### CHARTOON

### Anatomy of generations



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS





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## BIG IDEA

# The ultimate air purifier

Designer Daan Roosegaarde's "smog vacuum cleaner" aims to reduce Rotterdam's growing air pollution. —S.B.

1.

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2.

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3.

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## QUICK TAKE

# Good leaders don't have to be 'good'

By Jeffrey Pfeffer

AN ALMOST INFINITE NUMBER OF RECENT books, blogs and seminars on leadership equate being efficient with being virtuous, arguing that traits like authenticity, modesty and concern for others are paramount. Meanwhile, Donald Trump leads the race for the Republican nomination, and the world's most lauded business leaders include Jeff Bezos, Steve Jobs, Elon Musk and many others who display few, if any, of these prescribed qualities. What gives?

In essence, we're confusing good stories with good advice. The most cited example comes by way of Jim Collins, whose 2001 book *Good to Great* included a study of so-called Level 5 leaders—successful executives who were both driven and demure. But while these tactics may have worked for the small group of leaders Collins studied, they're exceptions, not rules. The vast majority of research shows that narcissism, rather than

modesty, predicts being selected for and surviving in leadership roles.

Of course, this won't come as a surprise to anyone who's read Machiavelli's *The Prince*—or the *New York Times* piece published on its 500th anniversary, "Why Machiavelli Still Matters," which draws from centuries of history to conclude that "following virtue often leads to ... ruin ... whereas pursuing what appears to be vice results in security and well-being." Sometimes, the best bosses have to lie and manipulate to save money and jobs. Often, they have to disregard concern for others. These truths may not be as inspiring as the latest wave of leadership fables, but they're backed by social science and knowledge of contemporary organizations—and they're likelier to help people lead.

*Pfeffer is the author of Leadership BS: Fixing Workplaces and Careers One Truth at a Time*

## HOW TO PERFECT YOUR PREDICTIONS

For their new book, *Superforecasting: The Art and Science of Prediction*, Philip E. Tetlock and Dan Gardner studied the habits of highly effective predictors—people who anticipate everything from regime overthrows to financial meltdowns. Here's some of what they learned:

1

### OPEN YOUR MIND

After making an initial prediction, people tend to look for evidence that confirms it instead of evidence that could poke a legitimate hole in it. Don't make that mistake.

2

### DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Before blindly predicting an outcome (like how many coffee shops will open in Chicago next year), predict individual factors that could affect it (how many people live in Chicago, what percentage of them drink coffee, how many shops already exist). That way, your estimate will be rooted in some kind of reality.

3

### GET A SECOND (OR THIRD OR FOURTH) OPINION

The more predictions you take into consideration, the more accurate your final prediction will be. Just be sure to consult a trustworthy source. —S.B.



# THE GOLDEN

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# Why it's tough to survive a year in space

By Jeffrey Kluger

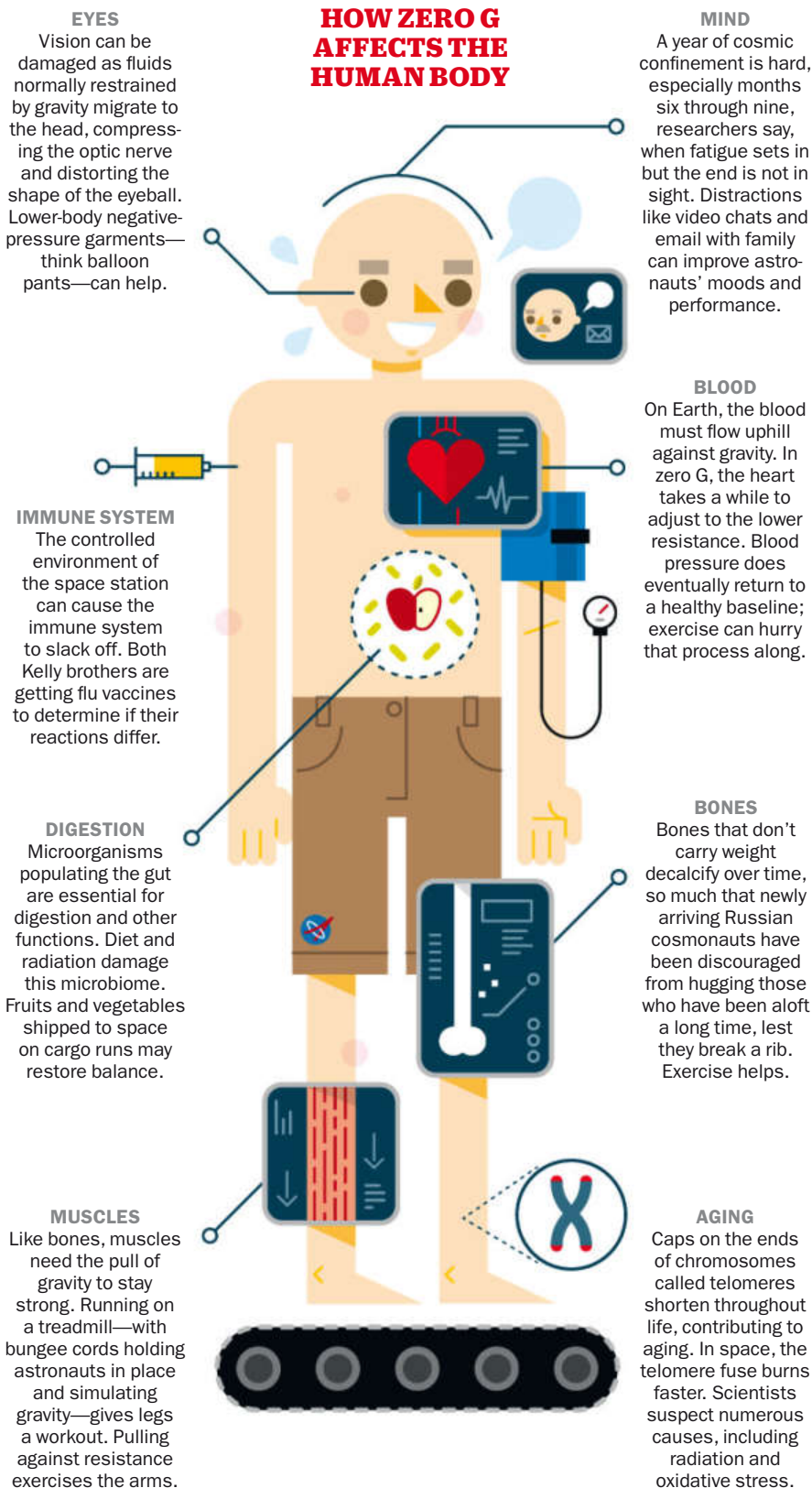
NOBODY'S BUSINESS TRIP IS QUITE like Scott Kelly's business trip, and that's not just because when he's on the road he goes to a place where there are no roads at all. Kelly has spent the past six months aboard the International Space Station, circling Earth at a cool 17,150 m.p.h. That's more than 2,700 orbits as of Sept. 15—and he still has another 2,700 to go.

Kelly and cosmonaut Mikhail Kornienko are just past the halfway point in a historic year in space, and they're staying aloft so long for reasons that go beyond mere record setting. Space travel, despite its thrilling rep, is hard on the human body, and it's the part that seems especially fun—the weightlessness part—that causes most of the problems.

The body was built for a 1-G environment, and it doesn't quite know what to do when it finds itself somewhere else. Without the pull of gravity, the heart can grow lazy, blood pressure goes awry, muscles become slack, bones grow brittle. NASA's great dream—a trip to Mars—would be a 2½-year journey, and if mission planners can't sort out the biomedical issues now, in low Earth orbit, a deep-space Mars trip would be out of the question.

Both year-in-space marathoners are offering up their bodies to help solve these problems, but in Kelly's case there is even more to learn. At the same time he is being studied, his identical twin Mark, a retired astronaut, is being put through similar paces on the ground. Matching genetic templates plus very different environments equals a terrific control experiment.

The results of all this work won't be known until well after Kelly and Kornienko return. But here is a look at what scientists know so far about how the body reacts to space—and possible ways to reverse the damage. □





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**THE MAN WHO BROUGHT FIRE  
BACK TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

**By Sam Frizell**

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN VOSS FOR TIME





*The surging  
presidential  
candidate on  
Sept. 15 in his  
Washington  
Senate office*

**W**as it Opposite Day at Liberty University? Here was Bernie Sanders, who spent his 20s preaching sexual liberation and social revolution, taking the stage to speak to a student body of fresh-faced Christian conservatives at the school founded by televangelist Jerry Falwell. Liberty students pay

a \$25 fine for “attendance at a dance” and \$50 for “visiting alone” off campus with a member of the opposite sex. At 74, Sanders was an old man among young people, a self-described “democratic socialist” in the boiler room of the Christian right. And you could argue that his presence was the opposite of clever. After all, why was this overachieving underdog of the Democratic Party—the breakout star of a season that was supposed to be all about Hillary—stumping for votes in a place where he had virtually no chance of finding them?

Why does a missionary venture out among the heathen? Bernard Sanders, a paint seller’s son from Flatbush, an early-’60s campus radical, a rumpled transplant to progressive Vermont who worked his way gradually up a small ladder in a small state to become the unlikely embodiment of a very large yearning—leads with his heart and his sermons. He seeks conversions, not just votes.

If that strikes you as insufficiently calculating, you are starting to understand Bernie’s momentum. And to understand the Sanders surge is to understand the spirit of 2016. Look around at the candidates who are stumbling and fumbling toward the first balloting less than five months away. Republican Jeb Bush of the White House Bushes learned to count delegates when most kids were still counting fireflies. Democrat Hillary Clinton is part of a family that once commissioned a poll to choose a family vacation that would endear them to voters. So far, calculation is getting them nowhere. The surging candidates—rampant Donald Trump, novice Ben Carson and retro Bernie Sanders—represent the opposite. Slickness is out, conviction is in.

“I am not a theologian. I am not an expert on the Bible,” Sanders told the crowd of 13,000 at Liberty. “I am just a United States Senator from the small state of Vermont.” With that caveat, Sanders

painted scenes of a progressive utopia: free higher education, health care for all, bolstered wages and chastened billionaires. The audience in Virginia received him politely, though their biggest wave of applause went to the student who asked why his compassion for the weak did not extend to unborn babies. Sanders’ real audience—the roughly 1 in 4 Democratic-primary voters who have lifted him into contention against former Secretary of State Clinton—could only love him more than ever. He was defending the faith. Daniel, as they might put it at Liberty U., in the lion’s den.

With each twist and wrinkle of this election season, which is as wide-open and unscripted as any presidential cycle in living memory, we see more clearly that these are special times in American politics, baffling times, times to challenge categories and scramble expectations. The Internet has killed the kingmakers. Freshness beats incumbency, while the perception of sincerity beats all. There is no room for focus groups in the elevator to the top of the polls; America wants its candidates straight up and packing a kick. This is how a squinty-eyed New Yorker goes from shooting his cuffs and hawking condos to the head of the GOP pack. It’s how Bernie Sanders can join the Democratic Party in April and by August be battling for first place in Iowa and New


Hampshire.

Without a single TV ad—or a single congressional endorsement—Sanders has exposed the weakness of the party’s Clintonian establishment while at the same time spotlighting its hunger for an ideological savior. Polls now indicate that if the nominating contests were held tomorrow, Sanders would edge out Clinton in Iowa and beat her in New Hampshire by 10 points. Nationally, he has cut Clinton’s lead from an impregnable 46 points to a crumbling 21 points in just two months.

But even those metrics don’t convey the extent of the Sanders phenomenon. At Clinton events, campaign staffers section off floor space before her speeches to make her crowds look densely packed. Sanders needs no barriers. His audiences are authentically huge—28,000 in Oregon, 11,000 in Arizona, 7,500 in Maine. His volunteer army, meanwhile, though mostly self-organized online, numbers more than 182,000 people spread out from rural Alaska to the Florida Keys, people who have asked the campaign how to improvise events, knock on doors and spread the gospel from campus quad to living room to farmer’s market.

Win or lose, Sanders seeks to transform his party and redeem American politics through an epic battle against some of the wealthiest powers in human history. “A lot of people have given up on the political process, and I want to get them involved in it,” he tells TIME. “In this fight we are going to take on the greed of the billionaire class. And they are very, very powerful, and they’re going to fight back furiously. The only way to succeed is when millions of people stand up and decide to engage.”

This is not just a campaign, says Sanders. It is a “movement,” a “revolution.” He is not only after delegates; he plans to “raise the political consciousness.” Contrast this with the message Clinton



## Win or lose, Sanders talks of transforming his party and remaking American politics





conveyed during a meeting this summer with a group of activists. Consummate political engineer, virtuoso of the knobs and dials of public opinion, Clinton said, “Look, I don’t believe you change hearts. I believe you change laws, you change allocation of resources, you change the way systems operate.” David Axelrod, the onetime guru to Barack Obama, brutally mocked the plodding story line. “Hillary: Live With It,” tweeted Axelrod, “is no rallying cry.”

Sanders is all rallying cry. When the *Wall Street Journal* attempted to tally the cost of his agenda—trillions in new government spending on health care, 90% tax rates on the superwealthy, free public college, a Scandinavian-style safety net—his defenders criticized the effort. It’s time, Sanders says, for billionaires storing their cash in the Cayman Islands to pay up. He is tapping into a recurring desire among Democrats for an outsider to purify the party. “Carter, Clinton and Obama all ran against the party,” Simon Rosenberg, Democratic strategist and veteran of Bill Clinton’s 1992 campaign, observed of the last three Democrats to

^  
*Sanders addresses students at the  
evangelical Liberty University  
on Sept. 14*

reach the Oval Office. “We don’t do coronations. It’s not our thing.”

What better way to convey his purity than to take his message to Liberty U., where abortion is murder and gay marriage apostasy. “We are living,” Sanders told the students, “in a nation and in a world which worships not love of brothers and sisters, not love of the poor and the sick, but worships the acquisition of money and great wealth. I do not believe that is the country we should be living in.”

**FOR PHIL BOYD**, the revolution began in August, when the 24-year-old manager at Barnes & Noble started marching door to door in his town of Clayton, N.J., seeking Sanders recruits. Within weeks, he decided to drive six hours to New Hampshire to hear the firebrand in person.

Sanders delivers stump speeches that are equal parts economics and jeremiad.

His numbers have an apocalyptic feel: the 15 wealthiest people in America saw their net worth grow \$170 billion in the past two years; 99% of all new income today goes to the wealthiest 1%. Meanwhile, the earth trembles in the face of global warming—“more drought, more floods, more extreme weather disturbances, rising sea levels,” Sanders preaches. “It means more acidification of the ocean with calamitous impact on mammal life.”

What Boyd really wanted, though, came after the fire and brimstone. “Yes, I am here,” Sanders told the crowd in his gravelly Brooklyn accent. “I want to win the Democratic nomination. But I need something more than that—I need your support the day after the election.” Like many others who are rallying to Sanders, Boyd was seeking more than a candidate. He wanted a cause for the long haul. “We have to keep our foot on the pedal, whether it’s Bernie or anybody else who wins,” Boyd said.

Truth be told, many Sanders supporters would have preferred a fresher standard bearer to expose the injustice of income inequality and rail against the



buying of elections. Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts comes to mind. But Berniemania is about more than just the candidate, and more than one election. “The end goal is to build a political movement that pushes beyond whatever the campaign is or does,” says Corbin Trent, a 35-year-old who sold his food-truck business in Tennessee and now travels the state on behalf of the movement.

Such stories of abandoning careers and setting aside studies to join the Sanders brigades are common. Stephanie Rountree, a 17-year-old high school senior in Baltimore, spends upwards of 20 hours a week analyzing data and helping train volunteers. In Concord, N.H., palliative-care doctor Bob Friedlander left medicine to volunteer full time, rallying health care workers. Alayna Josz, a manicurist in nearby New London, N.H., paints red, white and blue Bernie slogans on her customers’ nails. “He says the things I always wanted to hear, that I knew were true,” Josz, 27, gushes. “All day long, I find myself thinking about Bernie and this revolution.”

The challenge Sanders faces is to build a campaign that can harness this energy effectively. His paid staff is growing rapidly, from four to nearly 40 in New Hampshire in just a month’s time. In Iowa, Sanders is quickly catching up to Clinton, with 54 paid staff to her 78 organizers. He’s set his sights on hiring in the Super Tuesday states.

He has volunteers eager to be involved in 47 states from Alabama to Michigan, where the campaign has no staff and no offices. In a largely unproven experiment, two staffers at the Burlington, Vt., headquarters are using conference calls, Internet chats, organizing parties and digital seminars to train hundreds of Sanders enthusiasts—who in turn are supposed to train other volunteers in rippling circles of self-sufficiency.

The results so far have been unpredictable. Over 100,000 people have said on Facebook that they would attend an “Enough Is Enough” rally on the Washington Mall to support Sanders. But the campaign hasn’t sanctioned the event. In San Antonio, 50 Sanders acolytes picketed a prominent Clinton backer—which came as a surprise to Sanders when he read about it in the newspaper the next day. “Sometime, I’m sure we’ll get in trouble because one of



*Sanders poses for selfies with his fans at a rally on Aug. 9 in Portland, Ore.*

## WHAT SANDERS WANTS

### BIG MONEY OUT OF POLITICS

Provide public funding for all elections and enact a constitutional amendment overturning the *Citizens United* ruling

### UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE

Replace Obamacare with a single-payer Medicare-for-all program in the style of Canadian and Western European systems, at an estimated cost of \$15 trillion over 10 years

### FREE PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

Make tuition free at all public colleges and universities with state and federal subsidies of \$70 billion per year

### EXPAND SOCIAL SECURITY

Increase payroll taxes on those making more than \$250,000, raising trillions to shore up the Social Security system and increase payments for most recipients by \$65 a month

### JOBS PROGRAMS

Invest \$1 trillion in infrastructure and start a \$5.5 billion youth jobs program, which Sanders estimates would create a total of 14 million new jobs

these groups will say something we’ll have to disavow,” Sanders tells TIME.

We’ve seen this movie before: a grassroots darling surges to early stardom only to lose to a better-organized moderate. In 2003, the Sanders role was played by progressive Democrat Howard Dean, another Vermonter, who attracted huge crowds and an avid Internet fan base but failed to win a single nominating contest. Republican Ron Paul in 2011 drew partisans so sincere that many quit their jobs to volunteer for him, but he was just a blip in the Republican primary race.

“The whole notion of self-organizing is a pipe dream,” says Marshall Ganz, a Harvard-based adviser to both the Dean and Obama campaigns. “One of the great values of the Internet is it’s a way to share information, but it’s not a substitute for relational structure and accountability.”

Sanders is undeterred. There must be a way to make it work, he muses on a warm afternoon shortly after Labor Day as he slouches on a sofa in his Capitol Hill office. A poster-board cutout of a happy Holstein stands sentinel and pastoral scenes from the Green Mountain State line the walls as Sanders talks about the power of the presidency.

It’s all about the movement, Sanders admonishes in the deep bass voice that he reserves for one-on-ones. What President Obama didn’t understand when he took office is that you have to keep your movement alive. “Barack Obama ran one of the great campaigns in American history. The biggest mistake he made is that the day after the election, in so many words, he said, ‘Thank you very much, but I will take it from here,’” Sanders says.

Then he paints one of his word pictures. Imagine President Sanders facing



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a vote in Congress on free college tuition paid for by a tax hike on the wealthy. He'd have to persuade Speaker of the House John Boehner to help him pass the bill. That's where his army of activists comes in. "How do I convince John? Is my personality that much better than Barack Obama's?" Sanders says. "The answer is to say, 'Hey, John, take a look out your window. Because there are a million young people there that are in support of the legislation. They are voting. They know what's going on. If you refuse to make college affordable, they're going to vote your people out of office.' That's the offer you can't refuse."

**THIS KIND OF** insurgent idealism has driven Sanders all his life. His education began at home, in a 3½-room apartment in Brooklyn's Flatbush neighborhood, which stamped his character as well as his accent. His father, the paint salesman, was a Polish immigrant and high school dropout, and the family lived paycheck to paycheck. Teenage Bernie studied Karl Marx and Greek democracy with his older brother, who brought him to neighborhood Democratic Party meetings. When his mother died unexpectedly, Sanders fled New York for the University of Chicago, where he threw himself into activism. By his 23rd birthday, Sanders had worked for a packinghouse union, joined Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington, signed up with the university socialists and been arrested at a civil rights demonstration. He was a sloppy student but an ardent radical of the sweater-and-slacks, nonviolent early-1960s variety.

In his second year at college, Sanders made national news. One frigid Tuesday in January 1962, the 20-year-old stood on the steps of the administration building and railed in the wind against the college's housing-segregation policy. "We feel it is an intolerable situation when Negro and white students of the university cannot live together in university-owned apartments," the bespectacled Sanders told a few dozen classmates. Then he led them into the building in protest and camped the night outside the president's office. It was the University of Chicago's first civil rights sit-in, and a first taste of victory for Sanders.

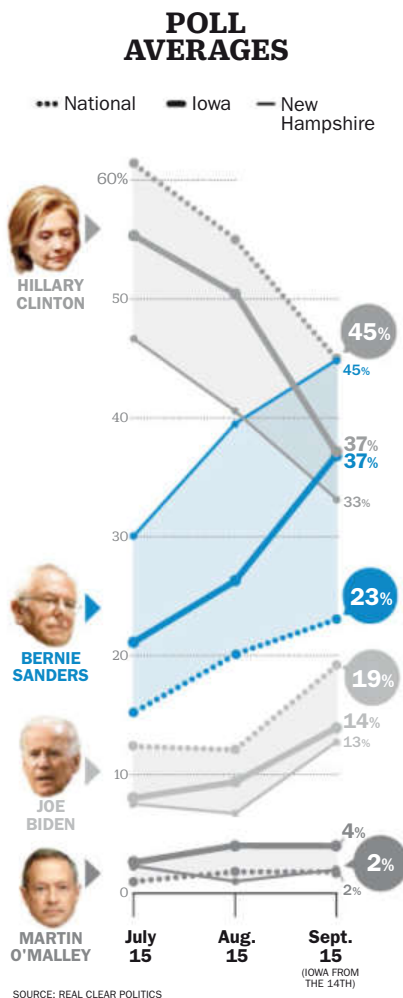
From there he made his way to Burl-

ington, Vt., where he staged unsuccessful bids as a socialist candidate for governor and Senator in the 1970s. His winning campaign for mayor of Burlington in 1981 was a notable counterpoint to Ronald Reagan's conservative uprising, and it launched Sanders on an upward trajectory that took him to Congress in 1991 and the Senate in 2007.

Now, as most of his Kennedy-era comrades have faded from the scene, Sanders has become ubiquitous in Democratic politics—to the irritation of the front-running Clinton. At a recent event in Iowa, for example, a student fired his name at Clinton like a spitball. "Hi, I really wanted to ask about your political views for Bernie Sanders?" a young man clumsily asked at his earliest opportunity. "My political views?" Clinton parried. Then she dodged—a bad habit to have this year. "I don't have any issue whatsoever in having a really good, strong contest for the Democratic nomination," she said.

Clinton's aides say they prepared for a strong challenger and they're not changing course. The insurgent has been unable to break through with African-American voters, who could prove decisive in the later primaries. "Sanders may be rocking her with white progressives," says Joe Trippi, a veteran Democratic strategist. "His problem is whether he can break Clinton's domination of minorities. It's a huge hurdle if it can't be solved." Clinton is still far ahead in nationwide polls, leading Sanders by around 20 percentage points. And her minions have begun to attack, sending out fact sheets that draw comparisons between Sanders and former Venezuelan ruler Hugo Chávez. "That is the kind of politics that I'm trying to change," Sanders says of team Clinton's attack.

Characteristically, Sanders professes to be uninterested in such details. "This campaign is about begging you to fight for your kids and your parents, to fight for your planet, fight for the future of your country," he says. There is no calculation in that answer. Let the other candidates worry about the horse race; Bernie Sanders is worried about forever. It is the opposite of everything we've come to expect from the political process—and this year, being an opposite is the secret to success.



**He was a sloppy student but an ardent radical of the sweater-and-slacks, nonviolent early-1960s variety**





# TIME

## A YEAR IN SPACE

A RED BORDER FILM IN ASSOCIATION WITH REEL PEAK FILMS "A YEAR IN SPACE" SCOTT KELLY  
DIRECTED BY: SHAUL SCHWARZ AND MARCO GROB

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# THE NEW ROMAN EMPIRE

*From Cuba to climate change, Pope Francis has revitalized the Vatican's role in global diplomacy. Now he's bringing his activist agenda to the U.S.*

**By Elizabeth Dias**





*Pope Francis  
waves to the crowd  
as he arrives  
in Bosnia and  
Herzegovina for a  
Mass in 2015*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
AMEL EMRIC



# History sometimes turns on little things—a single bullet, a spy’s blurry photograph—

and on Aug. 25, 2014, Cardinal Jaime Ortega y Alamino of Havana arrived at the White House to deliver one such object. Ortega had gone to great lengths to cover his tracks. His name does not appear in official White House visitor logs, and he had even arranged an event at Georgetown University that day to explain his presence in the capital. When he arrived at the West Wing he was quickly shown to a secluded patio outside the Oval Office, where President Barack Obama, White House chief of staff Denis McDonough and two other top aides greeted him.

After dispensing with the formalities, the Cardinal took out a letter from Pope Francis to Obama. Ortega informed the Americans that he had delivered the same message days earlier in person to Cuban President Raúl Castro. And then Ortega began to read the Pope’s words out loud. Francis expressed his support for diplomatic talks the U.S. and Cuba had secretly been pursuing in an effort to end a half-century of hostility. He encouraged the two nations to resolve the issue of prisoners, a key sticking point in negotiations. And he offered the Vatican’s assistance to help the two countries overcome their decades of distrust and confrontation.

Francis’ letter was as simple as that, but it made a difference. Two months later, Obama and Castro took Francis up on his offer, dispatching top officials to the privacy of the Vatican for a five-hour session in which they hammered out the details of an agreement to restore full diplomatic relations. And when Obama and Castro sealed the historic deal by telephone on Dec. 16, 2014, they found common ground expressing their gratitude to the Pope. Most important, the Pope’s letter offered symbolic shelter for both sides as they weighed the political costs of reconciliation. Francis’ popularity as a religious figure in the U.S. gave Obama cover as he cut a deal with godless communists across the Straits of Florida, while the Pope’s credibility as a

Latin American shielded Castro as he got in bed with Yankee capitalists. “[The Cubans] were very clear with us that they saw Pope Francis as different from previous Popes,” says Deputy National Security Adviser Ben Rhodes, who was present at the meeting with Ortega and the talks in Rome, “because of his stature as the first Pope from Latin America.”

That difference will be on full display when Francis arrives in Cuba on Sept. 19, ahead of a five-day historic visit to the U.S., and it is key to understanding not just who he is but how he is leading the Vatican on the world stage 30 months into his reign. Francis, 78, rose to prominence as a church leader in the unruly world of Latin American politics of the 1960s and 1970s, and his life and outlook are the products of the developing world. He has never been to the U.S., and his only papal trip to a developed Western country so far was a four-hour stopover in France, the shortest ever by a Pope. Instead he has focused on his spiritual base, traveling almost exclusively to so-called Global South nations, including Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Bolivia and Brazil.

That perspective has infused Vatican diplomacy under Francis with the same paradoxical mix of humility and influence that have defined his papacy so far. Nearly a year after Ortega’s visit, Francis shrugged off his role in the U.S.-Cuba rapprochement, even as he credited divine inspiration for his own part in the talks’ successful outcome. “What could I do with these two who have been going on like this for more than 50 years?” he asked reporters on a return flight from Paraguay to Rome in July. “Then the Lord made me think of a Cardinal, and he went there and talked,” Francis said. “We did hardly anything, only small things.”

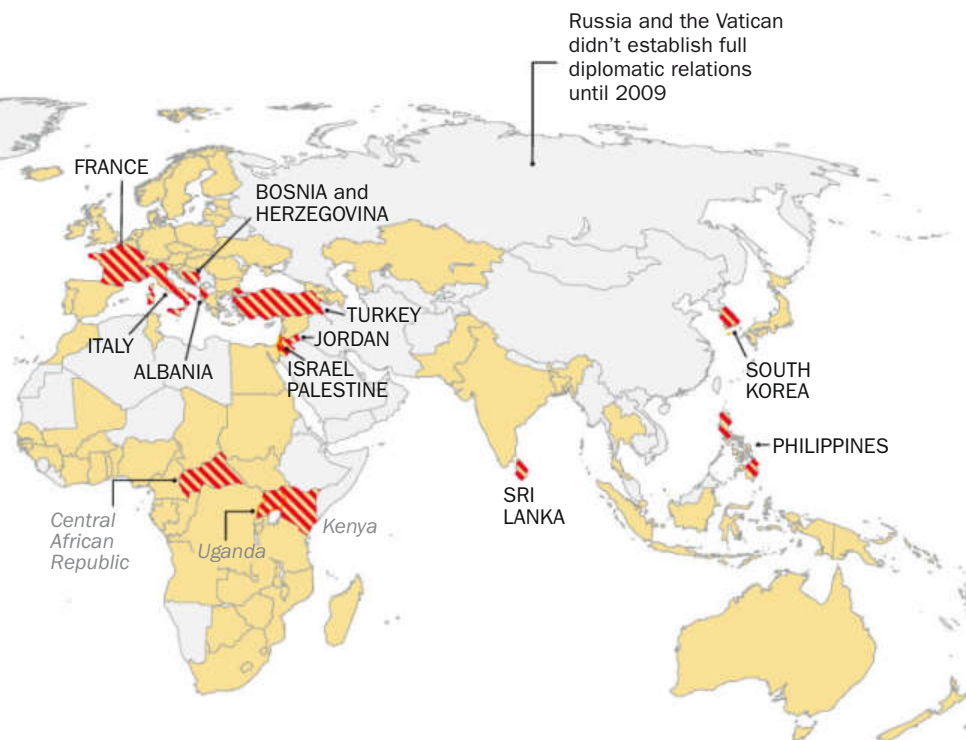
But Francis’ small things are proving to be a big deal for the rest of the world. Coaxing U.S.-Cuban reconciliation is just the start: the Pope is making the Holy See a player in the most pressing global



issues in a way unseen since the early days of Pope John Paul II. From the outset of his papacy he has drawn attention to the Mediterranean migrant crisis, and in early September he called on Catholic dioceses, including parishes in the Vatican, to house refugee families. Francis routinely speaks out about the persecution of Christians in Syria and Iraq as he pushes for action to end the wars there. He praised the controversial nuclear deal between Iran, the U.S. and five other world powers. His 180-page encyclical on the environment has been called “radical” by one prominent environmentalist and has helped make Francis a perceived front runner for the Nobel Peace Prize. And the State Department has asked the Vatican for help on relocating prisoners from the military prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, so that it can be closed, a top Obama priority, senior Administration officials tell TIME. Secretary of State John Kerry “early on saw Francis as a potentially activist foreign policy Pope,” says one senior State official.

The Pope’s activism will be put to the test on his visit to the U.S. Rightly or wrongly, the U.S. is seen by many as a wellspring for some of the global ills he has attacked—corporate greed, colonial





## TWO POPES' PASTORAL VISITS



*Francis' upcoming 2015 visits in italics*

exploitation, economic inequality—and his pronouncements on everything from climate change to immigration are hot topics in Washington. “He’s put the church into a debate, which is pretty risky,” says Jim Nicholson, U.S. ambassador to the Holy See under President George W. Bush and Pope John Paul II. Francis will meet privately with Obama in the Oval Office, then address a joint session of the U.S. Congress, dominated by Republicans who oppose much of his international agenda and have openly criticized some of his anticapitalist rhetoric. Can Francis, with no army or global financial clout, leverage his popularity in the developing world to influence the great powers, especially the U.S.? “He is trying to figure out where to spend this enormous capital,” says Rhodes. “He has built up this position in the world, and I think he is trying to figure out how to pay it down.”

**FRANCIS’ STRATEGY IS BOLD**, both on the world stage and within the Vatican. First, he is injecting himself into high-level diplomacy by taking controversial

positions on the biggest issues of the day. His climate encyclical—timed to precede the upcoming U.N. Conference on Climate Change in Paris—pleased backers of aggressive action against global warming but worried conservatives. Its scope was wide: it talked about everything from individuals’ air-conditioning use to how environmental degradation is causing poverty and migration. And its language was confrontational. Calling for a “bold cultural revolution,” for example, Francis said the rich and powerful were pushing a model of development based on fossil-fuel consumption that ended up hurting the poor.

In the Middle East, the Pope has alternately pleased and disappointed all sides. His push for the Iran nuclear deal bolstered the White House but angered Israel. The Vatican recognized Palestinian statehood in June, infuriating Jerusalem, but chose not to support Palestinians’ effort to raise their flag at the U.N. before the Pope’s visit there this month.

On Sept. 8 he fast-tracked controversial Catholic marriage-annulment reform to make the process cheaper, faster and local, freeing up time so that bishops headed to a Synod next month in Rome can instead address issues like war and

poverty. When violent unrest broke out in Venezuela last year, Cardinal Pietro Parolin, the Vatican’s Secretary of State who was previously the Holy See’s ambassador there, mediated talks between President Nicolás Maduro and the opposition that eventually fell apart.

Francis’ willingness to weigh in on hot-button issues is bolstered by his popularity around the world. “His use of what I call the moral megaphone, soft power, is being very effective,” says Nicholson. It helps that Francis is the first Pope to spread his message on social-media platforms. He tweets in nine languages and posts online video messages to Iraqi Christians. When he published his climate encyclical, he tweeted it 140 characters at a time for an entire day, earning tens of thousands of shares. As of last December, Francis was viewed favorably by 84% of those polled in Europe, 78% in the U.S. and 72% in Latin America, according to the Pew Research Center.

At the same time that he is making a splash in public, Francis is quietly altering the established order of papal diplomacy behind the scenes. For decades, the Vatican’s activities on the world stage have been directed by a specialized and highly trained set of church officials within the Roman curia. Francis has relied on his Secretary of State while greatly raising the profile of regional Catholic leaders, as he did by dispatching Ortega to the White House. At least two other Cardinals—Theodore McCarrick, formerly of Washington, and Seán O’Malley of Boston, who is one of Francis’ top advisers—acted as go-betweens at different points between Cuba, the U.S. and the Vatican. Ghanaian Cardinal Peter Turkson led the drafting process for the climate encyclical. The combination of a message of humility and an image as a Vatican disrupter is powerful, church experts say. “Francis has so much moral credibility because of the perception that he’s an outsider to the Vatican,” says Kathleen Cummings, director of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, “and that he is coming from a different part of the world.”

**THAT LATIN AMERICAN** credibility is both hardwired and hard-won. Francis was a rising star in the church in the tumultuous world of right-wing

dictatorship and populist Peronism that defined Argentina from the 1950s through the 1970s. His reputation and popularity survived the country's "dirty war," when between 10,000 and 30,000 workers, clergy and intellectuals disappeared in anticommunist witch hunts, some of them backed by Washington. A priest who was tortured by the military suggested Francis insufficiently protected him; another reconciled with him over the incident. Other priests said the future Pope worked behind the scenes to free them and to help them flee the country.

Above all, though, Francis' views are grounded in Catholic social teaching that sees itself as above world systems, offering a corrective to both communism and capitalism. "As idealistic or as utopian as it may sound," says Scott Appleby, dean of Notre Dame's Keough School of Global Affairs, "he is siding with the victim, with the poor, with the detritus of international politics, frankly, the people who suffer the mistakes most directly of everything from climate change and corporate exploitation of natural resources to people caught in the cross fire of war." And in a way most revolutionaries can only dream of, that view of the world from below is becoming his greatest asset as it increases his popularity across national boundaries.

But global popularity can go only so far. In the U.S., Francis' approval dropped to 59% over the summer as many came to oppose the positions he has taken. While Obama and many Democrats praised the Pope's climate encyclical, others, like GOP presidential candidates Jeb Bush and Rick Santorum, said he was in over his head. Francis is better off "leaving science to the scientists," Santorum said. After Francis moved to recognize a Palestinian state, several members of Congress were openly critical. "The Pope is legitimizing a Palestinian state without requiring those who get recognition to recognize Israel as a Jewish state," said Representative Jeff Duncan of South Carolina.

Within the Vatican itself, there are also some signs of dissent. Internal divisions on the Pope's agenda are at most whispered in the Vatican, but they are heard, especially as Francis continues to elevate the diverse voices of local bishops from outside Rome. The curia at the



## FACT FILE: POPE FRANCIS IN AMERICA

**50**

Number of Jumbotrons Philadelphia is setting up around the city to broadcast the papal Mass



**30 SECONDS**

Time it took for 10,000 tickets to be snapped up for the Philadelphia Mass

**0**

Number of previous Popes who have addressed Congress



**JEEP WRANGLER**

Popemobile for the U.S. visit

**93,143**

Number of New Yorkers who applied for tickets to the Central Park procession

**\$5,000**

Price someone was asking to sell two tickets to see the Central Park procession



**BILLY JOEL**

Had to reschedule a concert for Pope Francis' Madison Square Garden Mass

**VATICAN CITYWIDE**

Special drink in Philadelphia for the visit: Peroni with a shot of "holy water"



Vatican has long been an entrenched Italian, and Western European, stronghold. Francis is making sure more things are done with local languages, people, bishops and concerns in mind. His encyclical features a myriad of local bishops' conferences instead of relying heavily on doctrinal tomes. Dissent doesn't surface on clear-cut foreign policy issues like protecting Christians in the Middle East, but it does on controversial ones like Cuba. Some Catholics in Florida, for example, are not happy with the Pope's role in the U.S. opening to Havana.

Ultimately, many of the world's problems simply aren't responsive to the kind of soft power Francis is deploying, and the early results of his diplomatic strategy are mixed. When he visited Israel and the Palestinian territories last summer, he surprised the world by inviting both peoples' Presidents to Rome for a historic prayer summit. Days after they prayed for peace in the Vatican gardens, Israel launched an offensive on the Gaza Strip. Francis defends his move. "That prayer for peace was absolutely not a failure," he insisted to journalists as he returned from South Korea in August. "At present the smoke of the bombs, the smoke of wars, does not allow the door to be seen, yet the door has remained open from that moment."

To his credit, Francis seems aware that opening a door to dialogue is unlikely to be enough in some cases. In Syria and Iraq, Christians face displacement and death as the al-Qaeda offshoot Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) continues to take and hold territory. Francis opposed military strikes in Syria in 2013—he wrote to Russian President Vladimir Putin during a G-20 summit to urge leaders to pursue talks—but in March the Vatican's U.N. diplomat called for military force against ISIS. A decade of war has cut the Christian population in neighboring Iraq by two-thirds—in 2003 it was 1.5 million; today it is less than 500,000. When ISIS strongholds spread over Iraq last summer, Chaldean Catholic Archbishop Bashar Warda of Erbil had 620 families seeking shelter in his house alone, camping in his cathedral and gardens for two months. The Vatican, Warda says, helped raise \$30 million for refugees.

One of the Vatican's biggest diplomatic prizes, formal relations with China, remains out of reach, but there are signs

TICKETS: CHERRI GREGG—KVM NEWSRADIO; POPEMOBILE: REUTERS; PERONI: ALAMY; POPE: JOEL; GETTY IMAGES



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**AMERICAN FAMILY  
INSURANCE**  
Insure carefully, dream fearlessly.





Thousands of faithful gather to await Pope Francis on his first visit to Bolivia in 2015

Francis may be making progress. While the Holy See has long-established official ties with the exiled Chinese government in Taiwan, it has not had formal relations with mainland China for more than 60 years. Last August, China allowed a papal plane to fly in Chinese airspace for the first time when Pope Francis visited South Korea, and Francis sent President Xi Jinping a telegram, as is papal custom when flying over a country. Francis has declined to meet the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, although the Dalai Lama visited Rome in December and has been a big supporter of Francis' environment encyclical. Chinese state television reported favorably on the Pope's condolences after the chemical-plant explosion in Tianjin in August. China allowed the ordination of a Roman Catholic bishop in a diocese in central China in early August—the first to take place with the Vatican's approval since 2012.

Even small victories can be short-lived. Vatican officials signed a framework agreement in early 2014 with the government of the small sub-Saharan country of Burundi, guaranteeing the legal status of Catholic doctrine in areas like marriage and church education. But the Burundi Catholic Church's opposition to a constitutionally prohibited third term for President Pierre Nkurunziza has led to renewed confrontation.

"Currently our relationships are not broken, but there is now a real cooling," says Archbishop Simon Ntamwana of Gitega.

**IF THE WORLD'S** toughest challenges are not yet bending to the Pope's diplomacy, Vatican watchers are riveted by his attempts. One of his first moves as Pope was to replace the scandal-ridden Secretary of State, Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone, with the astute and youthful Parolin, who has been a behind-the-scenes mover for the Vatican on China, the Middle East and Latin America. "He has selected a good team," says U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See Kenneth Hackett, and "he knows the issues because he is in constant dialogue with people. He picks up the phone and calls people."

He is also a keen observer of the internal politics of countries he visits, says Hackett, and that pays off in return, yielding access and influence for his diplomats. So far this year, five top officials from the U.S. State Department have scheduled visits to the Vatican, including Under Secretary Rose Gottemoeller to discuss nuclear issues, Deputy Secretary

of State Anthony Blinken and special representative Tom Shannon. In side conversations during the Cuba talks, the Vatican raised concerns to U.S. officials about the persecution of religious minorities, especially in Iraq. When U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Sheba Crocker, who handles U.N. issues at State, visited the Vatican in May to discuss climate change and Pope Francis' 2015 development goals, her conversation with the Vatican's deputy foreign minister turned to Burundi.

That in turn means countries are asking Francis for things too. As part of Obama's efforts to close the military prison at Guantánamo Bay, the Administration has repeatedly sought the Vatican's help in finding countries that are willing to take prisoners, current and former Administration officials say. And the White House would like to see Francis press the Cubans on democratic reforms and congressional Republicans on lifting the U.S. embargo against the country. When it comes to the diplomatic progress he helped foster between the U.S. and Cuba, Rhodes says, Francis "can point out that the work is not done."

The same can be said of Francis' own global agenda. But given his success so far—and the scope of his ambitions—there's little doubt of this Pope's ability to use the little things to advance big changes. □





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Trained to  
preserve life,  
some doctors  
are now fighting  
for fatally ill  
patients who  
want to die on  
their own terms

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*Dr. Daniel Swangard,  
a California  
anesthesiologist who  
was diagnosed with  
cancer, sued the state  
to legalize aid in dying*







# the last choice

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By Josh Sanburn/San Francisco

DANIEL SWANGARD NEVER THOUGHT HE WOULD LIVE A LONG LIFE. IT was a premonition he and his sister both had, like a cancer they silently carried with them. But neither talked about it until Swangard felt something hard and curious in his abdomen.

In March 2013, doctors discovered that Swangard, a 49-year-old anesthesiologist in Bolinas, Calif., had a mass in his liver the size of a grapefruit. The initial diagnosis: hyperplasia, a benign tumor most often found in women. But Swangard thought differently. This is the beginning of the end, he told himself, his portent fulfilled.

When doctors went in to remove the growth, they discovered the real evil lurked in Swangard's pancreas, where a neuroendocrine tumor—the same kind that killed Steve Jobs—had developed into the size of a golf ball. They took out half of Swangard's pancreas, his spleen, part of his liver, and his gall bladder, leaving a 12-in. incision running from his sternum to below his belly button.

Today, Swangard's cancer is in remission, and when we met for lunch at a San Francisco taqueria over the summer, it was impossible to tell that he lives without a full set of vital organs. Toned, tan and maniacally committed to his health—he ordered a single mushroom taco—Swangard looks like he's in the best shape of his life. But the disease that could have killed him has a coin flip's chance of returning. And if it does, he doesn't want to waste away like some of the terminally ill patients he's treated. He wants options. He wants a say in what could be the last decision he'll ever make.

"I don't want to die in a hospital," Swangard says. "I've seen that happen. I don't want to be in a morphine fog. I want to be somewhere that's

familiar to me and have the people around me that I love.”

That choice may soon be possible. On Sept. 11, the California legislature passed a bill modeled after a law in Oregon that would allow physicians to prescribe life-ending medication for terminally ill patients. If Governor Jerry Brown signs the measure into law, California will become the fifth state to adopt a so-called right to die—and the first since the 2014 death of Brittany Maynard, the 29-year-old newlywed who ended her own life after learning she had terminal brain cancer. If the Golden State’s measure takes effect, it would also provide a jolt to the 23 other state legislatures that have proposed bills to legalize the practice since Maynard made use of Oregon’s Death With Dignity law.

Maynard’s wrenching story revived the debate over assisted suicide, giving the movement—which favors the more palatable terms *death with dignity* or *end-of-life option*—a champion who could command headlines and sympathy in equal measure. But in the tangled politics of the California legislature, where social issues can be decided by religion as much as party, that only counts for so much. In California, a critical reason the right-to-die bill passed Brown’s desk was that doctors like Swangard advocated for it. Swangard sued the state earlier this year to legalize the practice and is one of a growing number of physicians who publicly support letting terminally ill patients end their own lives.

In the spring, as negotiations over the bill intensified, the California Medical Association became the nation’s first statewide medical group to drop its opposition to aid in dying (its official stance is now “neutral”). The move, which several legislators described as essential to the law’s passage, would have been considered anathema a generation ago. But no longer. While many medical groups oppose letting healers have any role in ending a life, plenty of doctors have come to feel otherwise. In a December 2014 Medscape poll of 21,000 doctors, 54% supported physician-assisted dying, up from 46% in 2010 and the first time a majority backed the practice.

Although nearly 70% of Americans favor legalizing aid in dying, efforts to do so often fail because of opposition

from three groups: the Catholic Church, disability-rights organizations and doctors. If the shift in California is any indication, the nation may be headed for the biggest expansion of the right to die since it was first legalized almost two decades ago.

**FOR CENTURIES**, physicians tended to take a paternalistic approach to their patients. Doctor knows best, after all, and patients’ wishes rarely factored into decisions about care. That began to change in the 1960s when doctors started telling patients the truth about serious diagnoses like cancer, the sort of gut-punch news that was once thought better to soften.

By the 1970s, physicians began practicing informed consent—letting patients know the risks of a procedure and obtaining their approval before going through with it. That helped lead to the widespread establishment of malpractice laws and the redefinition of care standards from what a reasonable doctor thinks should take place to what a reasonable patient should expect.

At the same time patients have become more empowered, medical breakthroughs have allowed us to live much longer with diseases that would’ve killed us years ago. “If you went back a generation, doctors did what they could, but their bag of tricks was small,” says Arthur Caplan, the director of medical ethics at New York University. “Now it’s possible to keep a dead body going on machines. You have more people who are older making it into the hospital where they use these technologies, and there are more older people who are surviving longer.”

This has led to an explosion in end-of-life care. Hospice, which is designed to relieve pain and suffering for those with no chance of recovery, is now a \$19 billion industry in the U.S. and projected to

grow 7% annually. One and a half million Americans receive some sort of palliative care each year. But the caliber of that care varies widely, as does a patient’s quality of life. For many, the prospect of choosing the terms of their death can be preferable to surrendering control to drugs and ventilators. “This is the endpoint in that evolution from doctor-centered to patient-centric care,” Caplan says.

Since Hippocrates, doctors have taken their credo to be *Do no harm*. But what if a patient believes the treatment to keep them alive is more harmful than death? Being told she would likely die in a medically induced coma after losing her faculties is what prompted Maynard to move to Portland, says her husband Dan Diaz. “That’s the reason Brittany spoke out,” he says. “It’s ridiculous that somebody who’s been told that they’re going to die in six months has to drive 600 miles north to die peacefully.”

Her story resonated with the 40,000 members of the California Medical Association. Like many physicians, its doctors have wrestled with quietly giving a terminal patient extra painkillers that could ease their suffering—and potentially take their life. “There are many times when you’re facing somebody with terminal illness when you have to say, ‘If I give you this medicine, which will stop your pain, you may not wake up,’” says Dr. Theodore Mazer, a San Diego ear, nose and throat physician who is the speaker of the CMA’s house of delegates.

The sense that patients have a right—and doctors have a responsibility—to play a role in that decision prompted the CMA to abandon decades of institutional precedent. “Thirty years ago I would’ve said physicians never should’ve been involved in this,” says Dr. Tanya Spirtos, a Redwood City, Calif., obstetrician and gynecologist on CMA’s board of trustees. “But we couldn’t just stand behind a blanket opposition statement we came up with in 1987.”

**CENTURIES OF MEDICAL ETHICS**, however, can be difficult to discard in a generation. Many doctors are still strongly opposed to aiding dying, including the American Medical Association, the nation’s largest physician group. Oncologists, who spend their lives fighting our most deadly diseases, tend to be

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‘Thirty years ago  
I would’ve said  
physicians never  
should’ve been  
involved in this.’

—Dr. Tanya Spirtos





^  
*The fate of California's right-to-die bill rests with Governor Jerry Brown, a former seminarian*

particularly resistant to the practice.

"Having choice at the end of life is a very valid argument," says Dr. Daniel Mirda, an oncologist in Napa, Calif. "But we're never taught anywhere how to really kill someone. To administer something is a really big step, and I think oncologists often feel that step is difficult to accept when so much of our effort is really protecting the patient from the consequences of their illness."

Prescribing a patient life-ending medication, Mirda says, is "like saying, 'I don't have a chance of helping you.'"

Some opponents say the conversation about end-of-life treatment in America shouldn't be about expanding a right to die but should focus instead on the quality of end-of-life care. Two-thirds of hospice providers certified by Medicare were for-profit in 2013, the most recent year for which figures are available, which has led medical experts to question whether they're cutting costs at the expense of care. The palliative-care industry is four times bigger than it was in 2000, but oversight is lagging. More than half of the nation's facilities have been cited for medical and safety violations, while the average facility has not been fully inspected in over three years, according to an investigation by the Huffington Post.

"It's a little bit like approaching fire safety not by enforcing building codes and mandating safety education but by

building diving boards to nowhere on the top floors," says Dr. Ira Byock, a palliative-care doctor and one of the leading right-to-die opponents. "The public knows that people are dying badly, but we're not having those conversations, and instead of fixing the problem, we're simply legalizing assisted suicide."

Other critics cite the potential for abuse. Marilyn Golden of the Disability Rights Education & Defense Fund says patients can be pressured to use the law by family members or choose to end their lives because it's less costly than continuing treatment. Data so far suggests coercion is limited, if it happens at all. In the four states that allow aid in dying, only a small percentage of terminally ill patients ever make use of the law. In Oregon, for example, 1,327 people have been prescribed life-ending medication since it was allowed in 1997, and 859 have actually died from taking it.

The largest obstacle to expanding the practice may be the oldest argument against it: that suicide devalues life. Only a handful of countries allow physician-assisted death, and an attempt to add Britain to the list failed in Parliament the same day California's measure passed. A few have legalized euthanasia, in which

physicians actually kill patients through lethal injections. Some opponents warn that expanding aid in dying could lead to physician-prescribed treatments for nonterminal diseases like depression, a practice allowed in Belgium and the Netherlands.

"There are only a very few things from antiquity that have been honored well," Byock says. "One is that we don't let doctors kill patients. The proscription against doctors killing patients is one that we erode at our own peril."

**THE QUESTION** is likely to weigh heavily on Brown, a practicing Catholic who considered becoming a Jesuit priest before entering politics. The Democratic governor, who will have 12 days to decide once the bill hits his desk, criticized his party's strategy of using a special session to maneuver around socially conservative legislators, but he also spoke with Maynard days before she died. His faith may play a role, but so will politics. Brown is courting the Catholic Church's support for his efforts to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. And while polling shows three-quarters of Californians support the right to die, public opinion may not sway a popular, term-limited governor.

"If California passes it, that'll be huge because that's a big state with major implications for the country," Caplan, the NYU bioethicist, says. "People can look at Oregon and say, 'Oh, that's a bunch of tree-hugging secularists somewhere out at the end of the country.' You can't dismiss California that way." Indeed, California has long been a policy bellwether for other states, and a right-to-die law could create momentum around the nation. A similar bill in Maine was defeated by a single vote earlier this year, and New Jersey is expected to revisit the issue in the fall.

It would be a welcome victory for Swangard. "Dying is something we all have to go through, some of us sooner than we'd like to," he says. "I think dying is a really sacred thing that happens. It's a time that's really ripe with potential for it to be peaceful. The whole point is just to give people the choice." Should his cancer come back with symptoms that make living unbearable and death imminent, he says he'd be glad to have the option, even if he doesn't end up taking it. □





# Why *Ambition* Isn't Working for *Women*

*It's not that women are less driven. But the things they strive for aren't helping them get to the top*

**By Kristin van Ogtrop**

**IF YOU WANT** to insult a woman but sound like you're paying her a compliment, there are a few ways you can do it. If she is not particularly attractive, you tell her she has beautiful hair. If she seems a little dim, you say, "You're so nice!" And if you work with her and she's pushy, or she's grasping, or sharp-elbowed, or a land grabber, or simply annoying in a way you can't put your finger on, you say, "You're very ambitious." Which is code for so many other things, nearly all of them bad.

A few years ago a colleague of my husband's remarked to him, "Kristin must be incredibly ambitious." I have been the editor of *Real Simple* for more than a decade, and in that time the brand has grown bigger and bigger. I chalk up my success to love, dedication and the fact that luck favors the prepared. It is this growth trajectory, I believe, that prompted the comment. Which may have been an insult. I don't know. But I do know that my husband's reaction was a puzzled "Not really." Which is both true and perhaps a sign that my husband still really likes me.

TIME and *Real Simple* recently conducted our second annual poll exploring this very territory: how men and women

define success and ambition, whether they view them differently, how priorities change over the course of a lifetime. The findings are surprising, and a bit depressing—or not, depending on how you look at career arcs and the meaning of life. While American women and men have similar levels of ambition (51% of men and 38% of women would describe themselves as very or extremely ambitious), the whys and the wherefores are complicated.

This subject of women's ambition and how we deal with it has long been textured and fraught. Three years ago, Anne-Marie Slaughter published her controversial article "Why Women Still Can't Have It All" in the *Atlantic*, and seven months later, Sheryl Sandberg gave us her blockbuster book, *Lean In*. Slaughter's article explained her decision to leave her dream job as director of policy planning under Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to spend more time with her sons. For countless women who struggle to balance work and family demands, it was a validating reality check. *Lean In* inspired others with Sandberg's personal story, plus her exhortation that women must claim their place at

the table in order to succeed in their careers. Both Sandberg and Slaughter reignited the simmering debate over why women, despite outperforming men academically for a generation, still were not making it to the top.

Now *lean in* is cultural shorthand and Slaughter has written her own book, *Unfinished Business*, which comes out this month. Where Sandberg's book is a call to individual action—you know you've got that ambition, girls; now own it—Slaughter's is a thoughtful memo to a culture that makes it extremely difficult for working women to ever feel they're getting it right. "Sandberg focuses on how young women can climb into the C-suite in a traditional male world of corporate hierarchies," Slaughter writes. "I see that system itself as antiquated and broken." Her viewpoint is less optimistic, in a way, but also acknowledges a holistic view of ambition and success. (She quotes an essay published in the Princeton campus newspaper in which an undergraduate woman tells a friend, "I don't even know if I want a career. I want to get married, stay home and raise my kids. What's wrong with me?" )

Companies are failing to see that for women, ambition is about much more than the job. And if laser-focused career ambition at the expense of a rewarding personal life is what it takes to capture the seat in the proverbial corner office—well, many women would rather not sit there. We spoke to a number of professional women about how they realized that ambition meant something different than they had originally thought.

### **I was president of a publicly traded company.**

*I was making more money than I'd ever imagined. Being written about in Fortune, and all these things that you would think would make someone feel really good. Yet I was really unhappy! I was talking to a girlfriend of mine, and she said, "Do you ever think about quitting?"*

*And I said, "Quitting?!" I've never quit at anything in my life. It just seemed absurd. And she said, "Well, you're not happy, so what is it that you're afraid of?"*

*That stopped me cold. Because my reflexive answer was "Afraid? I'm not afraid of anything." I'd never really thought about it, but I was afraid of what people would think. And the minute I realized I was not leaving because of what people would think, that was when I thought, Wow, my definition of success is pretty messed up, and I need to get my priorities in check.*

Lorna Borenstein

Founder, Grokker.com

**ALTHOUGH YOUNG WOMEN** are more ambitious than young men in the traditional sense of the word (girls are graduating in greater numbers than boys with bachelor's and master's degrees, and

those numbers have been climbing over the past half a century), when TIME and *Real Simple* asked women and men about their ambition, the results weren't terribly different. Nearly 90% of respondents of both sexes say they were raised to believe ambition is important.

Yet how we view ambition in others is trickier, especially for women. "When you say 'ambitious woman' there's a judgy tinge to it that doesn't happen for men," says Stephanie Clifford, a New York Times reporter and the author of the new novel *Everybody Rise*. "If all you hear about a woman is that she's ambitious, you probably wouldn't want to hang out with her." One ugly, lingering detail from the sexual-discrimination lawsuit that former venture capitalist Ellen Pao brought against Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers earlier this year was the allegation that a male executive said women were not invited to an important business dinner because they would "kill the buzz."

"Naked ambition in a woman is problematic in the business world," says Betsy Stark, managing director of content and media strategy of Ogilvy Public Relations and a former business correspondent for ABC News. "We continue to walk a fine line. We have to demonstrate enough ambition to be taken seriously as 'success material' but not so much that we're perceived as a freight train. Relentless ambition in a man is more likely to be respected as what it takes to get to the top."

The statistics on women making it to the top remain grim. While there were 12 women running *Fortune* 500 companies in 2011 and now there are 23, that still represents only 4.6% of all 500 CEOs. Bonnie Gwin doesn't believe ambition is the problem. Gwin is the vice chair at executive recruiting firm Heidrick & Struggles who focuses on searches at the director and CEO level. In her experience, women are just as ambitious as men. But while women "want to be successful in whatever domain they choose," she says, "women are less direct about their ambition. It's not something that women put out there all the time." In fact, our poll revealed that more than a third of women feel they have too little ambition, and half say it's not acceptable not to be ambitious.

A woman's attitude toward ambition, Gwin believes, is "a little more personal and contextual. I know a lot of women who are very driven and want to follow a corporate path and are aiming for top jobs, and I also know others where it's not the path they want." Whether out of desire or need, women define success in terms of both professional and personal accomplishment. Slaughter writes that "thinking of careers as a single race in which everyone starts at the same point and competes over the same period ... tilts the scales in favor of the workers who can compete that way." And many women have found that they can't. Or won't.



of women characterize themselves as **very or extremely ambitious**



of men characterize themselves that way

The main obstacles keeping women from being more ambitious at work are ...

29% say **personal priorities or family obligations**

16% say **lack of confidence**



***I was raised to believe there was nothing my brother did that I could not also do if I worked hard enough.***

And so I went to Princeton, graduated in 2003 and headed to arguably the best firm on Wall Street.

But then, in the span of five years from 2004 to 2009, I lost my father, mother and sister. In the case of both my parents, I received the call of their passing while at the office. The moment I absolutely knew that life at an investment bank was not for me was when my mother passed away in Nigeria while I was in New York. There were a couple of days between when I found out and when I flew out for the funeral. During that period I received a call asking if I would be able to come into the desk to cover before I flew out. Shortly afterward, they called back and apologized, telling me not to come into the office, but in that moment, my desire to be in such a job vanished. I stayed until the end of the year, but my desire to have a future there also died.

I am still a highly motivated person, but for me now it's about channeling that ambition toward doing something that if it all ends for me suddenly, I will have no regrets.

*Ita Ekpoudom*

Founder, Tigress Ventures

**WHAT DOES IT MEAN** for American business when highly educated, highly skilled employees who have earned substantial workplace equity decide that the equity they have accrued in their personal lives is more valuable? How does one calculate that in terms of potential profit or institutional knowledge lost? Slaughter points out that when corporations and law firms “hemorrhage talented women who reject lockstep career paths and question promotion systems that elevate quantity of hours worked over the quality of the work itself, the problem is not with the women.”

No, it's not. Simply put, American corporate life is set up in a way that makes it very hard for women to feel successful both at home and at work. Our family-leave policies are abysmal compared with those in other developed countries, and the percentage of American women in the workforce has continued to drop since it peaked in 2010, while it is rising in other countries. Does a corporate culture that devalues families also kill ambition? After all, in our poll, 68% of women and 74% of men said they believe ambition is not something a person is born with but a character trait that is developed. So what happens if conditions aren't ripe for development?

Recently Bain & Co. conducted a study in which the consulting firm asked 1,000 men and women working for U.S. companies whether they aspired to top management. For employees with two or fewer years of service, women outpaced men in aspiration. After two years, their aspiration diminished by 60%,



**35%**

of women in their 20s say being publicly recognized as ambitious makes them feel **empowered**

**16%**

say it's **embarrassing**

**59%**

of women have **felt regret about not having been more ambitious** at some point in their lives



**7 IN 10**

women feel that ambition is a character trait that is **developed, not innate**

while men's remained constant. When Bain interviewed more senior managers, the level of ambition rose but was still much lower in women than in men. As Orit Gadiesh wrote with one of the study's authors, Julie Coffman, on HBR.com in May, “The majority of leaders celebrated in a corporate newsletter or an offsite meeting tend to consist of men hailed for pulling all-nighters or for networking their way through the golf course. If corporate recognition and rewards focus on those behaviors, women feel less able, let alone motivated to try, to make it to the top.”

After 25 years at HBO, executive vice president Shelley Wright Brindle has decided to leave—not because she hasn't found success there but because she wants to define success on her own terms. The mother of three kids still at home says she's learned that working mothers often thrive more in workplaces that value output over face time: “There needs to be better ways to facilitate women to network other than the cocktail thing at night and the golf thing. If that remains the primary networking tool, women are never going to get to the C-suite, because that's not the choice they're going to make.”

When it comes to success in corporate America, context trumps competence. Lisa Shalett, now the chief marketing officer of The Odyssey, a social content platform, recently concluded a 20-year career at Goldman Sachs with both a highly sought-after partner title and the wisdom of experience regarding what women must do to thrive in a male environment. “Ambition,” says Shalett, “needs care and feeding, having the kind of informal relationships where you understand ‘How do I navigate this path, what do I need to know, how can I get there?’ Men tend to be ambitious for things, for positions, for titles, for results. Women tend to be ambitious to be recognized for performance, to be valued, to be included, and maybe expect that good things will come from that.”

Barnard president Debora Spar believes *entrepreneurial* has replaced *ambitious* for a new generation. “I don't think anyone has ever come in my office and said, ‘I'm ambitious.’ Everyone I know is ‘entrepreneurial.’” And now a number of ambitious women are simply channeling their dissatisfaction with traditional corporate life into fast-growing new businesses. Katharine Zaleski is the founder, with Milena Berry, of PowerToFly, a web-based employment service for women who want to work remotely. “Women aren't being less ambitious,” says Zaleski. “They are just unable to commit to a structure that was set up for 50% of the population.” Launched just a year ago, PowerToFly has connected women to jobs in 43 countries. Mae O'Malley, a former Google contract lawyer, established Paragon Legal with the same idea. O'Malley's San Francisco firm employs almost 70 lawyers, most of them women looking for ways to make their careers fit their lives, not vice versa. “What Paragon does is allow them a safe harbor for

a couple of years where they can do meaningful work such that when they feel like they can do it, they can step right back in. Prior to models like Paragon, you either stayed in and worked the 100-hour weeks or you leave, and you don't come back."

"One of the best reasons to strive to be the boss," Slaughter writes, "is the much greater latitude you have to make sure meetings and work are in sync with your schedule rather than someone else's." Yes, this is a first-world problem; the woman who is working three shifts to put food on the table is not losing sleep over whether she is leaning in enough. But more women need to see a clear path to the boss's seat. A national poll conducted last year of nonworking U.S. adults ages 25 to 54 found that 61% of women who weren't working cited family responsibilities as the reason (the number for men was 37%); of those who hadn't looked for a job in a year, almost 75% said they would consider going back to work if a job offered flexible hours or the opportunity to work from home.

**When I started work, I had this very specific idea of what ambition looked like, and that was that you spend as much time at the office as possible, you take on every project you can.**

*My email password was NeverSettle. I never understood why people would leave the office at 6 when they could stay until 8 or 9. I felt like they weren't giving their all.*

*That really started to change several years ago. I started to think, 'How do I want my life to look, what else do I want to achieve besides what I'm doing at the office?' I think it's simpler for men. Men are expected, encouraged to be ambitious. Women are told to have it all, which is a version of ambition that puts way too much pressure on us. When we can't balance it all, we feel like failures. I think men are allowed culturally to pursue whatever it is they want, and women who pursue that as single-mindedly are penalized.*

**Stephanie Clifford**

*New York Times reporter and author of the novel Everybody Rise*

**I HAVE WONDERED**, on occasion, if what separates men from women when it comes to ambition is a matter of biology. Specifically, hormones. But then I think that sounds retrograde, like something a loose-cannon (male) presidential candidate might claim.

How else, though, to explain the fact that in research data and anecdotal evidence, for women ambition is about a lot more than work? In our poll, men were more likely than women to say they would still work even if they were independently wealthy and did not need a job to support themselves and their families. Women were less likely to have missed an important family event to advance their careers and

less likely to be raising their children to believe ambition is extremely important.

It's the "there must be more to life" problem. Wright Brindle explains: "You get to a certain point in your career, and you're like 'Are you kidding me?'" Women start out equally ambitious, but men are still the drivers of what success looks like. People say, "Why aren't there more women CEOs?" and the answer, if you ask me, is because they don't want to be—with a big but, because of how those jobs are currently defined."

For those of us with experience and wisdom, *Lean In* came 25 years too late. When I ask women in their 40s and 50s how they feel about the book, many say "tired." And I get it. We did lean in, and some of us fell over, which helps explain the resonance of Slaughter's message.

But the women following behind us make me believe real change is possible. Angela Su is 25 and the lead buyer-planner for digital fashion startup Bombfell. She is successful, ambitious and, like so many of her generation, skeptical. "I strive hard to do well at my job, but toward what end?" she asks. "I guess to be happy or live a good life, but I'm still struggling to define what a good life means. Ambition is like the end goal, and that's the kind of thing that I'm suddenly questioning. What am I being driven toward?"

Young men are skeptical too. If there is one thing Slaughter and Sandberg agree on, it's that this is not just a women's issue. In *Unfinished Business*, Slaughter cites a Harvard Business School study of more than 6,500 HBS grads that showed that modern men are more family-focused than ever before: a third of male millennials expect to split child care 50-50, compared with 22% of Gen X men and 16% of boomer men. In our poll, more than a quarter of men cited "flexible hours" and "supportive environment" as most important in their workplace. Slaughter's husband Andrew Moravcsik, in the October issue of the *Atlantic*, argues that more men should become the "lead parent," as he has. The "most fundamental reason for men to embrace a more egalitarian and open-ended distribution of family work," he writes, "is that doing so can foster a more diverse and fulfilling life." As the mother of three boys, I would be hopeful about our future if they channeled their ambition in such a way.

Because it's up to their generation to push for that change: to groom men for lead-parenting jobs and women for the C-suite. And perhaps, someday, those two roles will not be mutually exclusive. "I'm attracted to the idea of being a CEO," says Tara Raghuveer, a 2014 college graduate who is policy and advocacy director for the National Partnership for New Americans. "I'm also attracted to the idea of having an amazing family. There are all these different things that I consider part of my ambition." —WITH

REPORTING BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/NEW YORK

Given the choice between retirement and the job of their dreams ...



**56%**

of mothers choose **retirement**



**55%**

of women without kids choose the **job of their dreams**

**Most**

people of both genders would choose **true love** over reaching the top of their chosen field

**5 IN 10**

mothers say they are **more ambitious on behalf of their kids** than on their own behalf

FROM A SURVEY OF 1,118 ADULTS CONDUCTED JULY 20-21 BY SURVEY MONKEY



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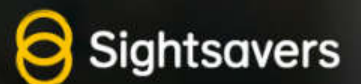
<sup>1</sup>The Lipper Award is given to the group with the lowest average decile ranking of three years' Consistent Return for eligible funds over the three-year period ended 11/30/12, 11/30/13, and 11/30/14 respectively. TIAA-CREF was ranked among 36 fund companies in 2012 and 48 fund companies in 2013 and 2014 with at least five equity, five bond, or three mixed-asset portfolios. Past performance does not guarantee future results. For current performance and rankings, please visit the Research and Performance section on [tiaa-cref.org](http://tiaa-cref.org). TIAA-CREF Individual & Institutional Services, LLC, Teachers Personal Investors Services, Inc., and Nuveen Securities, LLC, members FINRA and SIPC, distribute securities products. ©2015 Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America—College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF), 730 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017. C24849B

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**Hamza Kamuna** 16, Uganda  
born without sight

“ I do nothing now.  
I wake up in the  
morning and sit.  
I only think about  
one thing, that one day  
I'll be back in school.”

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# Time Off

'NOBODY GOES INTO IT THINKING, "I'M JUST SO EVIL—I'M GOING TO F-CKING KILL SOMEBODY TODAY."' —PAGE 63



*Picasso's mistress Marie-Thérèse Walter inspired these works in plaster from 1931*

## ART

### Tennis balls and trash enliven a lesser-known dimension of Pablo Picasso

By Richard Lacayo



*Picasso in 1946*

PICASSO THE PAINTER WE ALL know. Picasso the sculptor? Not so much. But that all changes with “Picasso Sculpture,” a once-in-a-lifetime show now at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City through Feb. 7. With more than 140 works from all phases of his career—the curators are Ann Temkin and Anne Umland of MOMA, with Virginie Perdrisot of the Musée National Picasso in Paris—it magnificently enlarges our view of the great man. It’s literally Picasso in 3-D.

Though there was never a time he wasn’t painting and drawing, for Picasso sculpture was an on-and-off affair. He approached it in intense episodes, any of which might go on for years and each of which was usu-

ally devoted to some new practice or material. He worked his way into and out of carved wood, molded clay, welded assemblage, steel-rod constructions, plaster heads, painted ceramics and sheet metal—not rewriting the rules of each medium so much as discarding the very idea that rules were required.

Picasso was perfectly suited to ignore the conventions of sculpture because he never learned them. Schooled from the first as a painter, he never mastered the business end of a chisel or trained to work in clay. So he had no reservations about non-traditional tools like the welding torch or unconventional materials like tin cans, sand and even trash. For a time in the 1950s he

**WORLDS TO CONQUER**

Picasso would return to sculpture periodically, usually to explore new materials such as, left to right, plaster, metal and clay

*Head of a Warrior*  
(1933)



*Guitar*  
(1924)



*Vase: Woman*  
(1948)

would take walks with his then companion Françoise Gilot, who pushed an empty baby carriage that he would fill with whatever caught his eye at the local junkyard.

And because he wasn't committed to the long traditions of sculpture it was easy for him to take his most radical step—to reconceive sculpture not just as a solid form but also as a framework that traps space, to make voids as palpable as the solids around them. Cubism, the uproar on canvas he started with Georges Braque around 1907, was already a way of exploding form and space in two dimensions. Why not demolish the third?

Thinking that way led him to one of his first and most fundamental breakthroughs, a guitar he produced in paperboard in 1912, then in metal two years later. It was a very new machine, an open assembly of interlocking planes and voids that incorporated emptiness. As a kind of visual paradox the sound hole was actually a solid protrusion—a cylinder that thrust its circular opening toward you. He would make several subsequent versions, including one in 1924 that wasn't built out of multiple components but sliced and bent from a single sheet of metal—a thing unfolding itself in space. For good measure every version of his guitar also validated the novel idea that an ordinary object, not a person or animal, was a subject fit for sculpture. In 1934 Picasso would take

that notion to the limit with *Crumpled Paper*—a wad of just that, immortalized in plaster. In recent years a number of artists have produced trash bags in solid form. He did it 81 years ago.

Paradox was often central to Picasso's sculpture. He used forms and materials in ways that contradicted their qualities as we ordinarily understand them—making a solid “hole” or plaster “paper.” In 1914 he crafted a series of six bronzes called *Glass of Absinthe*, all identical in form but each painted differently—a transparent glass made from opaque metal. Picasso gave it a certain transparency all the same by cutting two wedge-shaped openings in its side.

Borrowing an idea from the Cubist collage paintings he and Braque were both making that year—pictures with bits of newsprint or wallpaper glued to the canvas—he also incorporated a real absinthe spoon into each one, turning the “real” spoon into “art” and drawing the art into the real world. That kind of assemblage was a crucial tactic, pressing humble objects into service as high

art. In his 1933 *Head of a Warrior*, the eyes are repurposed tennis balls.

In the last decades of his life—he was 91 when he died in 1973—Picasso was arguably more interesting as a sculptor than as a painter. In his late canvases there are too many strenuous reimaginings of Velázquez, Poussin, Delacroix—encounters with Old Masters in which the old man didn't always come out on top. But his sculpture remained vital and original. He devoted years to ceramics, making hundreds of witty painted plates and figures like *Vase: Woman*. He also discovered how to scale his work into monumental public displays, like his mysterious steel head in Chicago's Daley Plaza, a conflation of his wife Jacqueline with their Afghan hound that manages to be both overwhelming and ingratiating.

It's useful to remember that not all the breakthroughs in 20th century sculpture emerged from Picasso's fevered brain. He was always aware of and responding to the currents around him: Abstraction, Surrealism and above all the work of his lifelong frenemy Matisse. But he opened the way to so many varied approaches that there are stretches of this show that seem to be the work of three or four different artists. The cumulative effect is so powerful that you have to remind yourself this isn't a group show, a conversation among contemporaries. It's all just Picasso, talking to himself.

**He was always responding to the currents around him: Abstraction, Surrealism and above all the work of his lifelong frenemy Matisse**



## MOVIES

# Everest's peak experience underrates the mountain

EVEREST RETELLS A REAL-life saga that still shocks after two decades: how a combination of terrible weather, unfortunate decisions and plain bad luck resulted in one of the worst mountain-climbing tragedies in history. Over the course of one May 1996 storm, eight climbers perished on Mount Everest. Journalist Jon Krakauer, who survived the ordeal, wrote movingly about the catastrophe in his harrowing 1997 best seller *Into Thin Air*; a made-for-TV adaptation of the book followed shortly after; and climber-filmmaker David Breashears filmed partly on location for almost unbearably vivid footage in the stunning 1998 Imax documentary also called *Everest*.

To the horror and tension built into what we already know happened—people died almost 29,000 feet (8,840 m) up, their frozen bodies joining an ice-scape of corpses—filmmaker Baltasar Kormákur (*Con-*

*traband*, *2 Guns*) brings to this 21st century Everest an Icelandic sense of snow and a theatrical flair for action sequences. He and cinematographer Salvatore Totino (*The Da Vinci Code*) have a satisfying command of the Imax 3-D format in which the movie is ideally viewed. The screenplay, credited to William Nicholson (*Les Misérables*) and Simon Beaufoy (*The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*), is solid, if too squarely beholden to standby scenes of worried wives weeping at home while the menfolk follow their mad bliss.

Then again, the addition of a few wifely characters creates job openings for Keira Knightley and Robin Wright. In fact, the wattage of the *Everest* cast is nearly

▼  
Clarke plays the leader of a New Zealand expedition, one of the groups caught in the deadly 1996 storm

as bright as the mountain is high: Jason Clarke plays the New Zealander expedition guide Rob Hall; Jake Gyllenhaal is Hall's American competitor, Scott Fischer; Josh Brolin and John Hawkes play climbing clients Beck Weathers and Doug Hansen. Michael Kelly, so memorable in *House of Cards*, appears as Krakauer.

They're good, these intrepid team players, and earnest, and committed. Clarke (*Zero Dark Thirty*, *Terminator Genisys*) is particularly compelling as a highly respected pro who, for the best, worst and perhaps most human of reasons, overrides his own good judgment. But the insertion of attractive Hollywood stars into a daunting landscape makes for some odd contradictions of scale as the story unfolds with white-knuckle inevitability. One minute we're called upon to gaze up at the mountain's so-called Death Zone above 26,000 feet (7,900 m), where humans are not meant to survive; another we're close up on the reassuringly familiar faces of Gyllenhaal and Brolin as they delineate their characters—Fischer the freewheeling American guide, Weathers the good ol' rich Texan who wants customer satisfaction for the big heap of money he has paid in pursuit of this most dangerous hobby.

*Everest* is a bit up in the air about which is bigger, movie star or mountain. But don't be fooled for a second. During the (injury-free) production, an avalanche killed 16 Sherpa guides working nearby on the Khumbu Icefall—only 13 bodies were recovered after a two-day search. The mountain will always win.

—LISA SCHWARZBAUM

## TIME PICKS

### MUSIC

Canadian synth-rockers **Metric** return with their sixth album, *Pagans in Vegas* (Sept. 18), a shiny but serious collection that conjures the likes of the Cure and Depeche Mode.



### TELEVISION

**Fresh Off the Boat**, the first sitcom about an Asian-American family in 20 years, returns to ABC for a second season Sept. 22, led by its hip-hop-loving 11-year-old protagonist Eddie.

### BOOKS

In her third novel, **Fates and Furies** (Sept. 15), Lauren Groff chronicles a marriage over 24 years, excavating the dark and shadowy terrain beneath its polished surface.

### MOVIES

Emily Blunt plays an FBI agent on a mission in **Sicario** (Sept. 18), a drug-war thriller in which violence reigns and morality is muddled.



MOVIES

# Johnny Depp's new jaunt

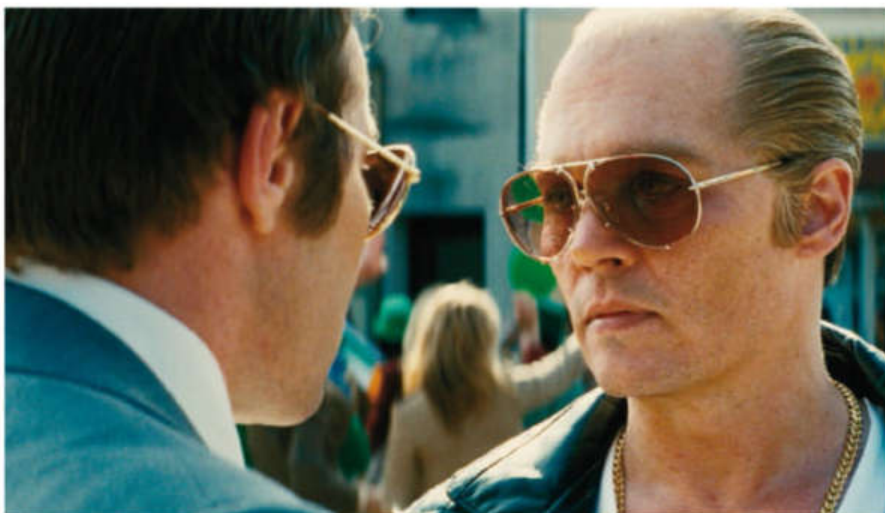
By Sam Lansky/Toronto

IN HIS PORTRAYAL OF WHITEY BULGER in the new film *Black Mass*, Johnny Depp, 52, is barely recognizable, his face obscured behind a mask of prostheses and topped by the receding gray-blond hair that gave the notorious Boston gangster his nickname. But in a hotel suite on a drizzly afternoon during the Toronto International Film Festival, where *Black Mass* was screened in a special presentation, he is unmistakable: Depp at his Depp-iest—marvelously wonky with a simmering intensity. He wears paint-splattered carpenter jeans, a pinstriped vest and multiple necklaces. Several of his teeth are capped in metal.

“Bulger was a businessman,” he says, taking a long pull from a hand-rolled cigarette. “His work required violence. Because there are only a few things in the world that really control people. It’s fear, violence and p-ssy.” He cocks his head. “Oh, sorry. Forgot that other thing called religion.”

Depp’s co-star, Joel Edgerton, 41, seated next to him, gently refocuses the conversation. “It was fascinating that the situation existed in the first place,” Edgerton says. “It’s almost too weird to be true.” He’s not wrong. *Black Mass*, in theaters Sept. 18, recounts how James “Whitey” Bulger ascended to power in the 1970s and ’80s as the leader of South Boston’s Winter Hill Gang, a confederation of predominantly Irish mobsters. His bloody criminal pursuits went largely unchecked owing to his status as an informant to Southie-raised FBI agent John Connolly (Edgerton), who protected Bulger as his empire expanded in return for information Bulger provided about the Italian Mafia—Winter Hill’s primary rivals.

After a three-decade-long reign of terror, news of a pending indictment sent Bulger into hiding in 1994. He remained No. 2 on the FBI’s most-wanted



During production, Depp bore such a striking resemblance to Bulger that he reportedly scared some local residents

## BREAKOUTS FROM THE TORONTO FILM FESTIVAL



### THE MARTIAN (OCT. 2)

Ridley Scott’s witty, likable sci-fi epic marks Matt Damon’s strongest performance in a decade.



### BEASTS OF NO NATION (OCT. 16)

Cary Fukunaga’s gripping drama about African child soldiers sees Netflix entering the Oscar race.



### THE DANISH GIRL (NOV. 27)

Eddie Redmayne and Alicia Vikander earned rave reviews for this biopic about transgender pioneer Lili Elbe.

list for over a decade, behind Osama bin Laden, until he was spotted in Santa Monica, Calif., in 2011 and returned to Boston to face charges. In 2013 he was found guilty on 31 of 32 counts, including racketeering, money laundering and extortion, as well as involvement in 11 murders. He’s now serving two consecutive life sentences, plus five years, in a federal penitentiary in Florida.

*Black Mass*, directed by Scott Cooper, who helmed 2009’s Oscar-winning film *Crazy Heart*, tells this bizarre story based on a book of the same name by former Boston *Globe* reporters Dick Lehr and Gerard O’Neill. Depp and Edgerton are assisted by a notable cast of supporting players, including Benedict Cumberbatch as Bulger’s brother Billy, a powerful Massachusetts state senator; Dakota Johnson as Bulger’s girlfriend; Kevin Bacon as a fellow FBI agent suspicious of Connolly’s motives; and Peter Sarsgaard as a drug-addled witness. It’s a dense, old-fashioned crime drama that mines a sprawling universe of lowlifes both on the street and among the police force. “The Southie code of loyalty transcended the law,” Edgerton says.

After a string of outlandish performances in blockbusters (*Pirates of the Caribbean*) and flops (*Mortdecai*), *Black Mass* marks a different type of transformation for Depp; again, he’s physically disguised, but there’s a reserved, naturalistic steeliness to his performance. He plays Bulger with a chilling, reptilian

BLACK MASS: WARNER BROS.; THE MARTIAN: 20TH CENTURY FOX; BEASTS OF NO NATION: NETFLIX; THE DANISH GIRL: FOCUS FEATURES



charm. "It's got to be seamless," Depp says of stepping into the role. "I feel a responsibility to get that person right—whether they're good [or] bad. You owe it to them to portray them as close as you can to the real thing."

Meanwhile, Edgerton—an Australian actor who's appeared in critically acclaimed films like *Zero Dark Thirty* and box-office smashes like *The Great Gatsby*—steps into the spotlight with the double punch of *Black Mass* and this summer's hit psychological thriller *The Gift*, which he wrote, directed and co-stars in. With the Connolly role came an unenviable task: playing a federal agent whose loyalties are so misguided that he allows the Irish mob to overtake Boston. Yet Edgerton's sensitive, humane performance actually makes you feel for the guy. Depp too peels away the mythology of Bulger to reveal a capacity for occasional tenderness that grows only more unsettling as the body count rises.

"We didn't look at these guys as gangsters," Depp says. "Nobody goes into it thinking, 'I'm just so evil—I'm

**'It's got to be seamless. I feel a responsibility to get that person right—whether they're good [or] bad.'** —JOHNNY DEPP

going to f-cking kill somebody today.' They're just humans. Then, slowly but surely, you understand their business, which is, kill or be killed."

To prepare, Edgerton says he studied footage of Connolly to nail his defensive demeanor and South Boston accent. "The image of [Bulger] is as iconic as can be, but John, not so much," Edgerton says. "But because we were setting that tone from Jimmy down, I was like, 'How close can I get to John Connolly?'"

For Depp, the demands were more physical; he credits Joel Harlow, the Oscar-winning makeup artist who also worked with him on *Pirates of the Caribbean* and *Alice in Wonderland*, with developing a look that made him feel invincible. "We did about six tests prior to coming up with the final look," Depp says. "To apply the prosthetics, we got down to 2½ hours every day. There's something about that and the

wardrobe—the polyester pants and all that stuff—that does create a suit of armor. You're stepping into the ring. You've got to be ready."

The scenes between the two leads are rife with tension, with Bulger co-opting Connolly as the lawman tries to win Bulger's approval without being too shameless. It's an unusually complicated dynamic that pays off for both actors. "With Joel, everything he's doing is to boost you to the next level, and then you do the same," Depp says. "That's a rare beast."

"I look at acting like a game of tennis," Edgerton says. "If you go to play with someone and you find out they've hardly ever hit the ball before, it's not going to be a fun day on the court."

"There are many times when you go to work only to hear the word *wrap*," Depp says.

"I've watched Johnny ever since I was young, in all sorts of weird and wonderful ways—" Edgerton says.

"Which means I'm old," Depp says.

"He is an old bastard," Edgerton says.

Awards-season buzz seems all but inevitable for both actors—not that it matters to either, particularly Depp, who doesn't watch his films as a rule. They nonetheless agree that it's nice to ride out a wave of a favorable reception. "You've been around the block long enough to know when a journalist can't look you in the eye," Edgerton says.

Still, the fall movie season is already starting to look crowded with competitive titles. The thriller *Legend*, out Oct. 2, stars Tom Hardy as the Kray brothers, the British criminals who ruled London's East End in the 1960s, while *Spotlight*, opening Nov. 6, explores a different type of corruption in Boston, tracking the journalists covering the Catholic sex-abuse scandal in 2002. Though viewers may grow weary of ripped-from-the-headlines crime stories by next year's Oscars, *Black Mass* is enough of an old-fashioned gangster movie to stand on its own.

"I'm drawn to this movie because I love watching danger onscreen," Edgerton says. Fear and violence, it turns out, are indeed powerful motivators. □

## QUICK TALK Jewel

*The singer-songwriter reflects on motherhood and divorce in a new album, Picking Up the Pieces, and revisits her childhood and 20-year music career in a memoir, Never Broken, on shelves now. —ELIZA BERMAN*

**When you write a personal song, is it scary to put it out into the world?** I don't experience fear that way. I've always found music healing. It's counterintuitive that the more transparent you are, the safer you are.

**How have you evolved as a musician since your first album?** Twenty years later, you know too much about the industry. You have to get that out of your head and be willing to make art.

**Why did you decide to do a duet with Dolly Parton?** When you grow up as a girl on a homestead, you don't have many heroes in the public eye. Dolly had a similar lifestyle to me. She had no shame in being who she was. I asked her to sing, and she said yes. She was 10 minutes early, looked amazing and was witty and everything you'd hope she would be.

**Did making the album and writing the book help you see yourself more clearly?** Most people go through a divorce and are like, "Why didn't I just get drunk and have meaningless sex?" I write a memoir and a heart-breaking record, peel off every scab and stick my finger in them.



## FICTION

## Novelist Elena Ferrante is a master in our midst—whoever she is

ONCE UPON A TIME, THERE WERE TWO GIRLS WHO LIVED in the slums of Naples. One was the daughter of a shoemaker; the other, the daughter of a porter. They played together, dared each other, there was an evil magician—or perhaps he was just a terrible old man—there was a lost doll ... Suddenly, there's no turning back, you're in for the duration. Once Elena Ferrante starts writing about these girls—*The Story of the Lost Child*, the fourth and final book in her Neapolitan series, has just been published—you have no choice but to keep reading. The two girls will become women. They will succeed, fail, fall in and out of love and bear children. They will transcend the ignorance and ugliness of their neighborhood and be trapped by it; they will transcend Italy's expectations for women over the past 60 years and be trapped by them.

But that doesn't begin to describe the world of Elena Ferrante, the author of four previous novels, which comes to us through the lens of her remarkable translator, Ann Goldstein. We are dealing with masterpieces here, old-fashioned classics, filled with passion and pathos. Never bathos. Ferrante is too precise, too aware of the emotional complexities of any given moment for this story to descend into suds. Unfortunately, there is little straight-out humor, or clever banter—Ferrante is too obsessed for diversions—but, happily, there is no cynicism either.

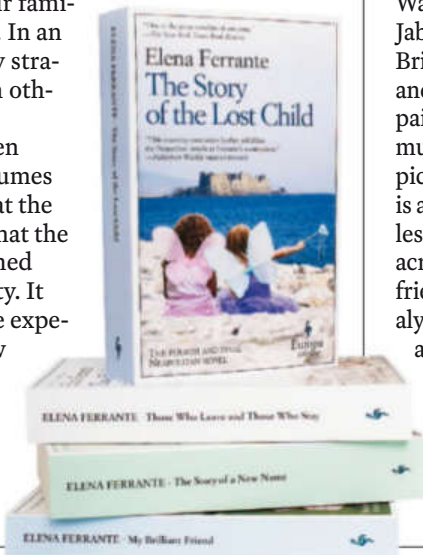
The sheer power of her books is a challenge to the chilly, dour craftsmanship of too many 21st century literary novels. Ferrante doesn't observe her characters from a disdainful middle distance. She dives into them, she loves and is appalled and saddened by them. She writes perfect descriptions of the writing process and of creativity, of political action and of sex. But the heart of the work is the tangled friendship of two women, both brilliant, sometimes brutally competitive and absolutely necessary to each other. They are sophisticates in a slum, alienated from their families and frustrated by the feckless men in their lives. In an ancillary triumph, Ferrante shows how men of every stratum can be blockheads. Indeed, the women are each other's only true family.

We don't know who Elena Ferrante is; she has been pseudonymous since her first novel in 1992. One assumes "she" has to be a woman; one might even assume that the Neapolitan novels are semiautobiographical, given that the narrator of the books—the porter's daughter—is named Elena. There is something lovely about her anonymity. It adds to the strange, almost inexplicable, depth of the experience. Having been Anonymous once myself, I know that there is a monkish austerity to it—you can't go around bragging about your sales—and also that there is a purity to it as well: Elena Ferrante is what she writes. She can be judged only by her work. And her work is magnificent.

—JOE KLEIN

### ▼ AUTHOR ANONYMOUS

Before her first novel came out, Ferrante wrote her publisher, "I will be the least expensive author of the publishing house. I'll spare you even my presence."



Cumberbatch, McKellen and Downey as Sherlocks of recent vintage

## MYSTERY

## Holmes is where his heart is

SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE'S sleuth Sherlock Holmes has proved an unusually visible character of late: He's been played on film by Robert Downey Jr. and, in this year's *Mr. Holmes*, by Ian McKellen; he's the star of TV series as varied as Benedict Cumberbatch's *Sherlock* and the procedural *Elementary*. Each Holmes is redefined (violent, aged, tech-savvy) to suit his new interpreter's interests.

In his first novel, *Mycroft Holmes*, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar uses the Sherlock story as a way to explore race and history. The former NBA star (who's written several nonfiction books and is a TIME columnist) takes us to Trinidad with Sherlock's elder brother Mycroft as he attempts to deduce who or what has been making locals disappear.

The book, co-authored by Anna Waterhouse, lends itself well to Abdul-Jabbar's interests: Mycroft, a sheltered Brit, witnesses the practice of slavery and learns of his companion Cyrus' painful past. But Holmesians will find much to appreciate in the novel's depiction of a character whose mind is as keen as Sherlock's but who is a less agile sleuth. Mycroft, who travels across the globe at the behest of his friend, is more sentimental than his analytical sibling. Doyle's Mycroft is lazy and dull; Abdul-Jabbar, a dedicated Holmes fan, gives the young Mycroft appealingly un-Sherlock-like traits and a set of traumas that explain why he eventually left the detective work to his brother.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO





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Nintendo's first smartphone game, Pokémon Go, will enable users to "catch, trade and battle Pokémon in the real world."



A rare **dinosaur skeleton** found in Wyoming is going up for auction in the U.K. It's expected to fetch up to \$750,000.

The recent Miley Cyrus–Nicki Minaj tiff—the two traded barbs during the MTV VMAs, after Cyrus spoke dismissively about Minaj to the *New York Times*—has **inspired a variety of creative Etsy products.**



Planet Hollywood extended **Britney Spears' Las Vegas residency** for two more years.



POKÉMON GO: NINTENDO/POKÉMON; DINOSAUR: AP; PILLOW: MAHDI CHOWDHURY; SWEATER: TESANDANKYOU.COM; YOGA MAT: YOYO MATS; PIKACHU, VOLDEMORT, KING KONG, GODZILLA: EVERETT; GETTY IMAGES (4)

Warner Bros. is reportedly planning a **King Kong–vs.–Godzilla** movie.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



News that a hologram of Billie Holiday will perform at the Apollo **has left many fans unsettled.**

YouTube user Nicole Arbour **refused to apologize** for her "Dear Fat People" video, which was widely criticized for being demeaning and cruel.

A Connecticut man got **busted driving 112 m.p.h.** on his way to traffic court, where he was to address a speeding ticket.

People have pledged more than \$75,000 to fund **the world's first "self-rolling yoga mat,"** designed to help yogis accomplish the easiest part of their workout.



*Variety* **accidentally published an obituary** for British director Terry Gilliam, who is very much alive. He took the snafu in stride, tweeting:

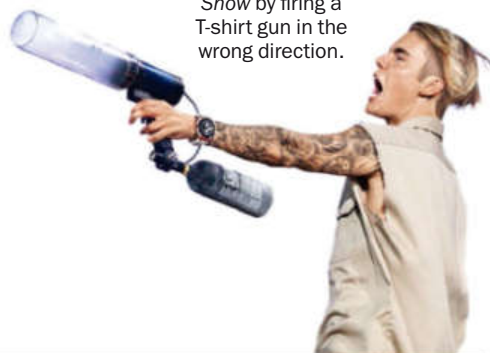
**'I APOLOGIZE FOR BEING DEAD, especially to those who have already bought tickets to [my] upcoming talks.'**



J.K. Rowling said that **most Harry Potter fans have been pronouncing Voldemort wrong.** The *t* is meant to be silent.



Justin Bieber **broke a camera** on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* by firing a T-shirt gun in the wrong direction.







THE AWESOME COLUMN

## As the witty presidential candidate merch goes, so goes the nation

By Joel Stein

ONE OF THE LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS WITH THE AMERICAN political system was the lack of shopping. Sure, candidates gave away free buttons and bumper stickers, but if you felt as strongly about Alf Landon as you did about the Green Bay Packers, there was no way to prove it with apparel, home decor and beer koozies.

But democracy has finally matured enough that presidential candidates have added a Shop tab to the top of their websites, right next to Bio, Volunteer and Donate, and nowhere near the nonexistent Positions on Issues. So Bernie Sanders fans can get a \$15 CONTENTS MAY BERN coffee mug, Jeb Bush believers can get a \$75 guacamole bowl, and Ted Cruz supporters can get a \$10 Cruz coloring book, a \$30 STRAIGHT OUTTA CONGRESS poster or, oddly, a \$10 Cruz mouse pad, for those who have a time machine and want to vote for Ted Cruz in 1996.

These aren't tote-bag-type pledge gifts tied to donations. Those exist as well, and include the Official Clinton Campaign Thx Box, a monthly delivery of the candidate's favorite products. No, these are full retail experiences with virtual shopping carts. Mike Huckabee's even had a 20%-off discount code, and Hillary Clinton's sells gift cards. Because while everyone now gets in your face about their politics, people can still be a little touchy about sharing their T-shirt size.

**THREE YEARS AGO**, *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour got designers such as Marc Jacobs, Tory Burch and Diane von Furstenberg to create a fashion line for Barack Obama, raising over \$40 million. But this time, candidates have gone Walmart in their ambitions. Surprisingly, the most cautious campaigns sell the wackiest merchandise. It's predictable that Marco Rubio would poke fun at his water sipping during his State of the Union rebuttal with a \$30 WATER GREAT NATION water bottle. And Rand Paul pretty much had to have a \$100 novelty Hillary's Hard Drive With Wiping Cloth (now marked down to \$60), a \$15 laptop-camera-size sticker called an NSA Spy Cam Blocker and a \$1,000 autographed copy of his *TIME* magazine cover. We really need to raise our newsstand price.

But Clinton's store makes her campaign, against all evidence, seem like fun. Her campaign's staff design director and senior designer have come up with a \$30 pantsuit T-shirt, a \$15 Grillary Clinton apron and a \$55 throw pillow stitched with A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE. In the gay-pride section of the store, there's a bright yellow YAAAS HILLARY T-shirt that features a photo of a young Clinton and a phrase that a Lady Gaga fan uses to express approval. I don't know what the phrase is that Lady Gaga fans use to express disapproval, but I am pretty sure it will appear next to a picture of Clinton on a shirt in the Rand Paul store.

Unlike most store managers, none of the press secretaries



would talk to me about how they develop their merch. One campaign manager told me, "We don't discuss campaign strategy," which seemed like pretty elevated terminology for whether to assign genders to your onesies.

**ONE CAMPAIGN**, however, was not afraid to talk about what it's selling.

"I understand markets and how to sell and what people want. This is a limited run. This isn't going to be up forever. Not beyond the campaign," Donald Trump told me about his merchandise, before reconsidering. "Maybe it can."

The Trump store has no puns, few items and clear messaging: every item is stamped with the all-caps slogan MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! And it's working. He's selling his hats as fast as he can have them made great in America. He even sent one to Patriots quarterback Tom Brady, who keeps it in his locker. Trump knows how to market and brand. "That's one small reason I'll be a better President than anyone else," he says.

Unlike everything else he's ever made, his campaign merch has no gold on it—with one exception, the lettering of one version of his MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! hat. That's because despite his reputation, when the people speak, Trump listens. Quickly. Then he goes right back to talking. "People like the white hat with the black. It stands out more," he says.

But the products aren't the real difference between him and the other candidates. It's the far more complicated work involved in getting those items to market. I have no doubt that with quality products like the \$8 MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! megaphone and the \$12.50 set of MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN! pom-poms, Trump's campaign will continue to do well. When politics becomes a business, a businessperson will win at politics.

**Aberash Bekele** The subject of *Difret*, a new film produced by Angelina Jolie, talks about her life as a child bride who killed her would-be husband

**In 1997, when you were 14, you killed a man. Can you explain why?** I was abducted, and I was trying to go home. I shot not at him but to keep him away.

**Why had he abducted you?** Abduction is one of the accepted methods of marriage in Ethiopia. You get abducted, and then you get raped, because as the father of your potential child, the abductor is in a higher position to negotiate with the family for your hand.

**What happened after you killed him?** I was arrested immediately, and I stayed in prison for a year awaiting trial. The Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association came to my aid and fought my case. After three years, I was released.

**Did you get to go home?** I couldn't go back to my village, because the family of the guy I killed vowed vengeance and were threatening me and my family. Through elders and mediators, it was possible for my family to stay. But I was exiled. I went to Addis Ababa, the capital city, to an orphanage.

**How did things change in Ethiopia after your case?** Not much changed regarding the tradition itself. But in my village for about seven to eight years, not one girl got abducted, because people knew that there were consequences. They realized that abduction is not permitted by the law. We're just now seeing abduction come back again.

**Your case was in the news, but then you went silent about your travails. Why are you speaking out now?** Because I got the chance. I left the country and was working as a housemaid in Dubai, and I wasn't able to talk about the issue. Now with this film coming out and my job as an activist, I have a new chance to talk about what happened to me, and the tradition.

**Why did you have the Ethiopian premiere of *Difret* interrupted last year?** I was at a place where my life still was in

danger, and I felt like the film coming out would put my life at risk. I hadn't had a chance to assess the situation.

**Even when they're not abducted, many Ethiopian girls have arranged marriages before they're 18. Why do parents in Ethiopia allow their daughters to be married off so young?** Parents are worried that if they don't give their daughter away early on, she might be abducted from school. So they make a deal with some man to give their daughters to him or his son. My dad had given me away to a guy who had agreed that he would wait for me to marry until I finished school. But I got abducted in between.

**'I was exiled. I went to Addis Ababa, the capital city, to an orphanage.'**

**What do you think we have to do to change the culture of abduction?** Simple: We have to educate the men. We have to help them understand that abduction is not O.K.

**Are your sisters married?** My older sister was abducted at 16 and married. She lives a horrible life. Her life goals were interrupted. She was a competitive marathon athlete. She has four kids. Her husband doesn't work, so she's the breadwinner of the house. She has a very difficult life.

**What about your younger sister?** I got choked up. There were no abductions in my village for a while, and my sister said to me, "It's because of you that we don't look over our shoulders. We look forward." She thanked me for that. And she continued to go to school, finished her education. Now she works as a nurse. Also, she got married—at about 23.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

*This interview was conducted through an Amharic translator*



ERIK TANNER FOR TIME



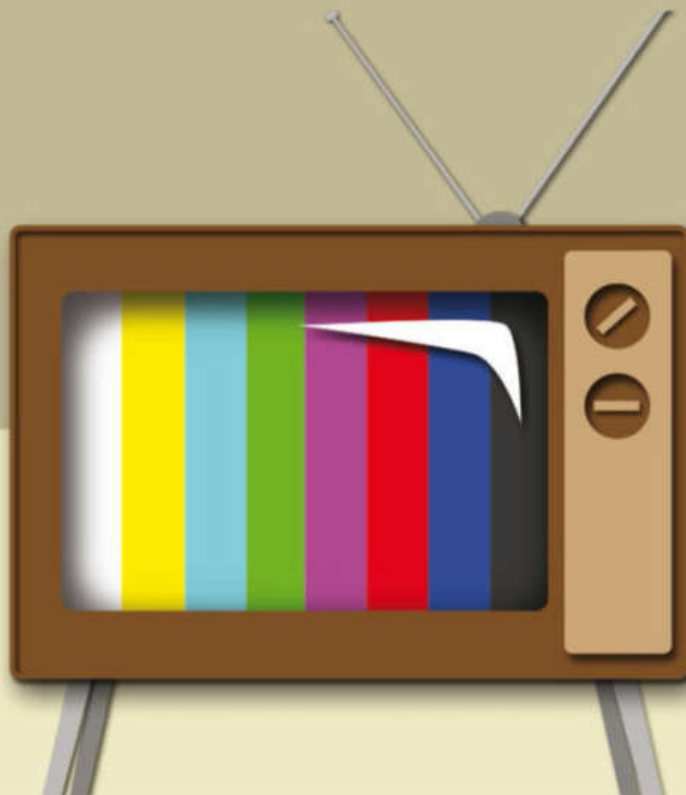
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# A WATERSHED FOR WATERSHEDS.



Half of the Everglades has already disappeared. Now the remaining half of this fragile ecosystem is at risk from pollutants in stormwater runoff.

The problem has been decades in the making. But the millions of Florida residents, visitors and native animals relying on this watershed don't have decades to wait for a solution. So the South Florida Water Management District designed innovative stormwater treatment wetlands and Citi found a way to finance the project in weeks rather than years. Now, clean water from those wetlands is replenishing the Everglades and an incomparable global landmark is on the mend.

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